GOETHE, IQBAL AND THE ORIENT





M. Ikram Chaghatai

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IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

On the Occasion of
Goethe's 250th Birth Anniversary.

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Abbreviations

art.	=	article
Asrar	=	*Asrar-i-Khudi* (Iqbal)
Aufl.	=	Auflage (edition)
Bd.	=	Band (vol.)
Bde.	=	Bände (vols.)
cf.	=	confer (compare)
ch.	=	chapter
d.	=	died
ed.	=	edited, edition
e.g.	=	exempli gratia (for example)
erl.	=	erläutet (explain)
esp.	=	especially
f.n.	=	footnote
Gr.	=	German
Hrsg.	=	Herausgegeben (edited)
Ht.	=	Heft (part)
ibid.	=	ididem (in the same place)
i.e.	=	id est (that is)
Jg.	=	Jahrgang (year of publication)
Kap.	=	Kapitel (section)
Kulliyat	=	*Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu) 1972.
N.F.	=	Neue Folge (new serie)
no.	=	number
Notes	=	*Noten und Abhandlungen* (Goethe)
n.s.	=	new series
op. cit.	=	opere citate (in the work cited)
p.	=	page
pp.	=	pages
pt.	=	part
Rep.	=	Reprinted

rev.	=	revised
Runuz	=	*Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Iqbal)
ser.	=	serie, series
s. v.	=	sub voce (under the word or title)
T.	=	Teil (part)
tr.	=	translated, translator
u.	=	und (and)
Univ.	=	University
usw.	=	und so weiter (and so on)
vol.	=	volume
vols.	=	volumes
ZDMG	=	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)

Preface

Existing body of writings on Iqbal and Goethe spans hundreds, if not thousands, of pages in Urdu, English, Persian and German languages. Minor contributions in other languages also exist. This whole corpus of scholarship is lacking in certain respects. The gaps in Iqbal scholarship on the subject are even wider and more numerous. Iqbal Academy, while planning for its contribution to the Goethe Year (1999) thought of preparing an anthology that could collect and present all the available material on the subject and break fresh ground in the field of Goethe-Iqbal studies. It was, perhaps, providential that we had Muhammad Ikram Chaghatai as our associated scholar at that time in the Academy helping us with our cherished project of establishing an "Iqbal Archives". Partly on my insistence and, largely, on account of his own keen interest in the history of German Oriental scholarship, he accepted my offer to collaborate with us. We could not have found a person better qualified for the task. It took us almost a year to achieve our goal. Many members of my team contributed to the project but the greatest credit goes to Ikram who brought his long years of linguistic training, serious and painstaking research in the libraries of Pakistan and the West, particularly in German speaking countries, and his dedicated labour to bear on the subject and thus gave us this fine specimen of scholarship and managed to collect the wealth of information that we present in the companion volumes of this short treatise.[1] The present work is a shortened version of the detailed study that Ikram himself made apart from collecting and analysing the materials.

It is my proud privilege to say that Ikram has done an excellent and admirable service by filling the gaps in the existing materials and fulfilling the need for the required information and explanations.

The method that he adopted for his research and inquiry is more akin to the advice of Goethe rather than the usual methodology of his discipline. Goethe had advised: " He who wants to understand the poet must go the land of the poet". And by "land" we do not mean the geographical land only; it is above all the mental landscape, the psycho-sophia and the spiritual earth of ones being.

Ikram takes us, in turn, to the summits of the "lands" of these two great men and, more importantly, to those areas of that land that could be said to have intersected.

He starts with providing us glimpses of the vast corpus of Goethe's writings in its startling diversity to bring out his importance as an eminent novelist and dramatist, a notable philosopher, an excellent professional scientist, a successful political administrator, a famous architect and a brilliant statesman and above all his remarkably expressive lyrical poetry that made him truly immortal. Goethe's relationship with the East is then elucidated as it provided essential insights into Goethe's mind-set and helped us to understand his cherished concept of *Weltliteratur* (World Literature) as well as his limitations with regard to an in-depth understanding of the metaphysical dimension of the Islamic worldview and its vision of Reality.[2] Ikram has skilfully pointed out the channels through which the influence of the East reached Goethe. Along with his strong attraction and intellectual leanings towards the Orient, Goethe was also fully conversant with the rich tradition of Western Orientalism. In this regard Ikram gives us hitherto unknown details of the works and scholars that were instrumental in the formative process of Goethe's mind. Most significant of these events occurred, perhaps, when "in the summer of 1814, the German translation of *Divan -i-Hafiz* came into Goethe's hands and it opened a new world for him— a world which was like a mirror reflecting to Goethe the image of his own situation and in which both poets shared common spiritual and moral attitudes". This was the beginning of a life long relationship that had far reaching consequences to which Ikram has devoted a whole segment of his study.

Part III of the present study deals with the reception of Goethe in the East that started during the lifetime of Goethe with the publication of the English translation of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*) in 1792 and reached its culmination in Iqbal's response.

Part IV is by far the most important section of the work as it makes a detailed study of Iqbal's works letters and biographical materials with regard to his influence-response relationship with Goethe that spanned four decades of his life. This part is tantalising. It questions certain views that have become standard in Iqbal studies and provides fresh insights about many aspects of the issue such as the relation of Goethe's *Diwan* to Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*, status of *Diwan* in Goethe's works, absence of Goethe from *Javid Namah* etc. It is not only the richest in information but also most compelling in evidence.

Together with its companion volumes in Urdu and English, Ikram's work is a valuable addition to the growing body of comparative studies that contribute to a better understanding of world literature as well as mutual understanding between different civilisations.

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Notes:

[1] The project consists of two volumes. Volume I comprises the English and German materials while the Vol. II presents Urdu writings as well as a sample of Persian.

[2] A remark from him can be cited as a representative example of this lack of understanding or accepting the metaphysical nature of the Islamic Revelation; "*I had to paint in this poem all the effects produced upon mankind by the efforts of genius, aided by the resources of character and ability--their successes and disappointments*".

IQBAL AND GOETHE

Thomas Mann (1875-1953), a German noble-laureate of literature (1929), presenting a paper "Goethe and Democracy" at the Library of Congress on 2nd May 1949, remarked that "Two hundred years after Goethe's birth, one hundred and seventeen after his death, it seems appropriate to begin a lecture about him with the sentence: I have nothing new to tell you."[1] Fifty more years have gone by and it is time now to celebrate Goethe's 250th birth anniversary the world over and we cannot but agree with what Thomas Mann said in 1949. The remark is deterring enough but, nevertheless, it has to be admitted that many Germanists and literary scholars have made significant contributions to bring more aspects of Goethe's life and works to light. Personalities like Goethe resemble a vast ocean that tempts not only individuals but also entire generations also to explore its limitless distances and wonders. Goethe's achievements continue to attract people like a gigantic challenge and this, in itself, is perhaps an ample proof of his undying greatness.

Goethe never stopped writing, from his childhood to the eve of his death when, after the failure of his speech and failing of his senses, he began to write with his forefinger on the quilt that covered his knees. The vast and diverse corpus of Goethe is a unique phenomenon. The great Weimar edition of his complete works consists of one hundred and forty-three octavo volumes: sixty-three of

what may properly be called his works, sixteen of his private diaries, fourteen of scientific writings and fifty of letters. Besides these, trails behind him a vast literature of biography, criticism and commentary, more than any other man in the history of letters. The great *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, founded by Karl Goedeke, devotes in its third edition--of which the volumes dealing with Goethe were published between 1910 and 1913--more than fifteen hundred pages to the bibliography of Goethe and his works alone.[2] Furthermore, the centennial and bicentennial celebrations, in Germany and abroad, with reference to Goethe's birth and death produced an abundance literature on him, a tribute which he richly deserved.[3] Now the task of compressing the bulk and varied output of Goethe within a brief survey presents insurmountable difficulties, forcing us to be content to appraise his genius, work and character in more general and comprehensive terms.

II

Goethe was an eminent novelist and dramatist, a notable philosopher, an excellent professional scientist, a successful political administrator, a famous architect and a brilliant statesman. But what has made him truly immortal is his richly expressive lyrical poetry. From the bulk and diversity of Goethe's literary works, his *West-östlicher Divan* ("West-Eastern Divan" hereafter *Divan*) stands out as a radiant summation of his lyric poetry and is ranked by many Germanists to be next in importance to *Faust*.[4]

Goethe is worshipped in Germany as a demigod and has exerted an equally powerful influence on the cultivated

classes of the whole world. One aspect of his global influence deals with the Orient, particularly the Islamic Orient that is explicitly discernable in all the poems of the *Divan*. In this way, Goethe's dream-bridge to Orient is an escapeway from the age-burdened complexity, the grievous intellectualism of the European world, overloaded with spiritual and historical tradition and finally threatened by nihilism to a world of no preconceptions, of naturalness, of simplicity and untroubled youthful vigour. After the publication of the *Divan*, in Germany dawned a new illumination that eagerly availed itself of every ray of light from the Orient, and began to follow the pathway of intuition as a means to attain truth. Several valuable researches have been made for tracing the intellectual contacts of Goethe with the Orient and his impact in the progress of the 'Oriental Movement' in German literature. In this study, an attempt has been made to bring into focus the deep imprints of Goethe's works, especially his *Divan*, on the literary traditions of the Indian Subcontinent. Irrespective of all possible efforts, I have still the serious handicap that I could not consult most of the studies stored away in the libraries; institutions and the academies solely meant for the Germanistic and Goethean studies of Germany. In spite of the non-availability of the relevant material, I have tried to have an access to the diligent researches carrried out by distinguished scholars such as Konrad Burdach,[5] Hans Heinrich Schaeder,[6] Wolfgang Lentz,[7] Ernst Beutler[8] and Katharina Mommsen [9] who have devoted their whole lives for tracing out the literary contacts of Goethe with the East.

The tradition of the Orient, including the Islamic Orient, had always been an effective element in Geothe's literary and spiritual world. From the time of his boyhood, he seemed to have been attracted by the imagery and

descriptions of the Eastern life and customs of the Old Testament, to which, as he tells us, he owed "almost all his moral education."[10] In his early youth, some other influences expanded Goethe's horizons which drew his gaze away from Europe to distant regions, and as a result he and his poetry acquired an international significance. Deeply impressed by the current literary scholarship, Goethe's advocacy of *Weltliteratur* (World Literature) became one of his most treasured concepts, aiming at advancing civilisation by encouraging mutual understanding and respect--whether through translation or criticism or through the blending of different literary traditions.[11] Although not wholly sympathetic to the prevalent Romantic Movement, Goethe approved the Romantics' receptivity to foreign literatures and sought a rapproachment with Eastern culture.[12] Some of the German romanticists turned to the realm of Indian civilisation. In 1808 Friedrich von Schlegel's treatise, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder*, appeared which for the first time revealed the new science of Oriental antiquity to Germany[13] and led to an interest in exotic literatures (when there had been a great burst of enthusiasm for a brightening and broadening of the image of the German poet's palette), Goethe read this book with enjoyment, but in general disliked the Indian gods and called the Indian religion "insane and monstrous." All the same, an Indian literary work, the *Sakuntala* of Kalidas entranced him and we find its traces in Faust in the "Prologue on the Stage."[14] In his early youth, Goethe's acquaintance with Johann Gottfried Herder (1774-1803) deepened his interest in other literatures, particularly in the domain of poetry.[15]

Goethe's age and its brutal realities also forced him to escape into the world of imagination. Napoleon was setting Europe ablaze and Goethe's own country too was

subjugated. He was deeply distressed by the political convulsions and felt that it was no longer possible to breathe freely in so oppressive a condition. The paralyzing stress drove Goethe beyond Europe to the East and made him turn for consolation to a wide range of escapist reading, travelogues of the Eastern regions[16] and books dealing with new experiences.

All these above-mentioned factors have profoundly contributed in widening Goethe's landscape of creative mind and led him to take flight from the Occident to the Orient--in his eyes an abode of tranquillity and solace. Goethe's inborn Oriental proclivities ultimately resulted in his deep interest in the Middle Eastern culture and, thus, he came in contact with the Muslim world.

Goethe got acquainted with the Islamic Orient through Qur'an, the Holy Scripture of Islam, while he was in the prime of his youth. The fascination, emanating from the power of the Quranic language and the poetic power of the text, enthralled Goethe. In one of his letters written to Herder from Wetzlar (10th July 1772), he referred to Qur'an briefly,[17] but afterwards he read extensively its Latin, German and English translations made by Ludovico Marraccio[18] , David Friedrich Megerlin[19] and George Sale[20] and annotated certain verses[21].

At the same time (between autumn 1772 and early 1773), Goethe made a plan to write a drama, based on the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam (Muhammad) but it remained incomplete and now its fragments exist, comprising only the early five acts. In his autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (III, 14), Goethe has detailed the contents of this drama and here its summarized version is given :

" . . . . I have conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of the bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime. I never could look upon the Eastern Prophet as an impostor. I had just read with the deepest interest and carefully studied his history; and I therefore felt myself quite prepared for the execution of my plan. I chose a form approximating to that of the regular drama, to which my inclination already led me; though I adopted, with a certain reserve the license recently assumed in Germany, of freely disposing of time and place. . . . . . The piece opens with a hymn by Mahomet alone.

. . . . In the second act he labours to propagate his faith among his tribe . . . . In the third act he triumphs over his adversaries. . . . In the fourth act Mahomet pursues his course of conquest. . . In the fifth act he experiences its effects. . . He purifies his doctrine, consolidates his power, and dies.

Such was the reign of a work which was long the subject of my meditations; for I generally liked to settle a plan in my mind previously to entering upon a work. I had to paint in this poem all the effects produced upon mankind by the efforts of genius, aided by the resources of character and ability--their successes and disappointments."[22]

Out of the several songs which he intended to introduce in this drama, only one has remained and that is his marvellous poem entitled *Mahomets Gesang*[23] ("Muhammad's Song", 1773). It is very rightly considered as one of the great tributes ever paid to the Holy Prophet and which inspired a poet like Iqbal to grasp the spirit of

veneration which permeates its every line and transform it into his own diction.[24]

As desired by Karl August, Goethe translated Voltaire's book on the Holy Prophet in blank verse.[25] The French author was extremely critical of the basic tenets of Islam and made very insolent remarks relating to the personality and prophetic mission of the Holy Prophet. On the contrary, Goethe's general approach to Muhammad is balanced and sympathetic. He describes the innate power of the new and iconoclastic faith (e.g. Islam) and the sincerity of its followers.[26]

Goethe never completed his drama about Muhammad but his admiration for him never ceased. In his advanced age when he was writing his own commentary on the *Divan*, he devoted a chapter under the title Mahomet in which he tries to differentiate between a poet and a prophet. Finally, he makes a remarkable observation on the relation of Muhammad to Persian literature.[27]

A renowned female German scholar Katharina Mommsen, who has devoted her whole life in tracing the profound influences of the Islamic East on Goethe's life and literary pursuits, writes about the interest of Goethe in the historic personality of Muhammad whom he ranks as the spiritual leader of the whole mankind. The concerned passage is as follows:

"Dann aber erwachte sehr früh auch in Goethe ein spezielles Interesse am Islam und an dem Prophet Muhammad. Seit der Dichter mit 23 Jahren eine Tragödie entwarf und teilweise ausführte, welche die Gestalt und das Wirken Muhammads zum Gegenstand hatte, darf im allgemeinen von ihm gelten; was das Verständnis und die Wertschätzung der muslimischen Religion angeht, so übertraf er bei weitem seine Zeitgenossen. Hierin liegt eine

der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen für seine spätere Entdeckung des Orients. Goethe sah in Muhammad einen der grossen geistigen Führer der Menschheit, ähnlich Sokrates und Christus. Diese Goethesche Sicht war--gemessen an Zeit und Umsänden--von erstaunlicher Freizügigkeit."[28]

Apart from all these intellectual leanings towards the Orient, Goethe was also fully conversant with the rich tradition of Western Orientalism, mostly concerned with the Islamic East. His creative escapism forced him to turn his face to the land of the morning and inhale the fresh air of that clime. At first, he practised the written characters of the major Islamic languages (e.g. Arabic and Persian) with all their idiosyncracies and ornaments but soon he started translating or adapting the literary treasures of the Arabic literature like the Arabian Nights[29] and the Mu'allakat,[30] a collection of the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Goethe tried to imbibe the spirit of these masterpieces and then transfer it in the Western garb, as a mere imitation could not satisfy him; rather, by yoking the art and ideals of the Arabic and Persian poetry with those medieval and 'romantic' elements in the European tradition with which they were in close harmony, he created a new idiom to express his own thought, and at the same time emphasized the cosmopolitanism which it was his aim to impress on German literature.

Among Goethe's contemporary scholars of Oriental studies, the most important was Joseph von Hammer--Purgstall (1774-1856), an eminent Austrian Orientalist who gained wide fame for his monumental contribution to Turkish, Arabic and Persian studies. He was noted for his scholarly acumen, versatility and encyclopaedic knowledge of the languages of the Muslims. The European historians

of the Oriental studies have paid a rich tribute to him for his remarkable services.[31]

Goethe received a strong impulse from Hammer's exhaustive studies, particularly the journal entitled *Fundgruben des Orients*[32] started in 1809 with the financial support of the later's intimate friend Wenzeslaus von Rzewusky (1765-1832), a Polish orientalist.[33] It was almost certainly the first oriental journal Europe has known,[34] in which the Western and the Eastern scholars collaborated and its main objective was to bring the East and the West closer and that is explicitly reflected in the Arabic sub-title, taken from a Quranic verse as its motto:

"Say, To Allah belongs both East and West. He guides whom He will to a straight path."[35] (2:142)

that is reminiscent of these lines of Goethe:

God's is the East!
God's is the West!
North and South and ev'ry land
Lie in the calm peace of his hand![36]

In the first volume of this journal, Hammer introduces it in these words:

"This journal will comprise everything which always comes from or with reference to the East. . . . Our journal will be a point of unity for the lovers of oriental literature, not only in Europe but also in Asia."[37]

In Goethe's personal diary (under the year 1816), he mentions the dispute of von Diez with Hammer and informs that "the latter's "Oriental Mines" [Fundgruben des Orients] I studied attentively, everywhere inhaling fresh Eastern air. . . "[38]

It is evident that Goethe was a serious reader of this journal from its inception and after having a cursory look at its contents, in all six volumes, the varied forms of their influences on the poetic styles of Goethe can easily be traced and, thus, fulfilled the wish expressed by Hammer in the introduction of the first of volume of his journal.[39]

From a long list of the contributors of this journal, one can find some with whom Goethe had personal contacts and they used to provide the relevant material to their most favourite poet. The scholars with whom Goethe was personally acquainted were Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827),[40] Georg Wilhelm Lorsbach (1715-1860),[41] Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten (1792-1860)[42] and Heinrich Friedrich Freiherr von Diez (1751-1817)43. An evaluation of these scholars' input shows that none of them was really a genius in their respective domains, but they were important informants of Goethe and their personal contact with the poet helped him tremendously in enriching his knowledge about the intellectual life of the Islamic Orient. It was Hammer alone who, having no direct acquaintance or correspondence, furnished not only the valuable information to him through his publications but also inspired his creative genius, and the *Divan* is the leading example of such inspiration.

Hammer's exhaustive and diligent studies consummated in the German translation of *Divan -i-Hafiz*[44] which appeared in two volumes in 1814. The translation was begun in 1799 when he was staying in Constantinople and ended in 1806.[45] As stated in his autobiography, he spent fourteen years in translating Hafiz and then bringing it to the public.[46]

In the summer of 1814, the translation came into Goethe's hands and it opened a new world for him--a world

which was like a mirror reflecting to Goethe the image of his own situation and in which both poets shared common spiritual and moral attitudes.[47] Dissatisfied and, to some extent, disgusted by the disturbing political circumstances, Goethe needed distance, space, a new scene, and ultimately he found in Hafiz (1320-1390) a model who could retain his peace of mind and freedom of spirit, irrespective of the pressure of the age he lived in.48 Another motive was also operative and that was his longing for change, for transformation, in order to avoid rigidity, but the most significant factor was Goethe's desire to extend the spiritual relationship between nations, and to link up the continents of Europe and Asia.

Goethe's *Divan*, containing nearly three hundred verses, divided into twelve books, each with a title generally indicating its theme. Its title "West-Eastern" seems to have several meanings. He wanted to combine and reconcile East and West, to strike a harmony. Secondly, the single, indivisible, universally human "Urphänomen" was to be revealed in the West as in the East. The third motive was the actual historical connection which the "rolling stream of time" was in process of establishing between East and West.

The first eleven books of the *Divan* were written during the period of 1814 and 1816 and published in 1819. They were followed by the culmination and summing up in the twelfth and last "Book of Paradise" (*Khuld Nameh*), written in 1820 when Goethe was preparing his own edition of his complete works which was eventually published in 1827. After his death, Eckermann and Riemer published further *Divan* poems under the title *Aus dem Nachlass*. These are pieces which were written later, and also some which the poet had not wished to publish. To *Divan* Goethe added a separate prose part entitled *Noten und*

Abhandlungen[49] ("Notes and Disquisitions") and the intention of its writing is to explain, to interpret, and also to cite his sources for those readers "who have only slight acquaintance with the East, or none at all." Moreover, Goethe gives an account of his lifelong interest in Near-Eastern civilization, Jewish as well as Muslim. All together, these parts are an introduction to the history, religion, and literature of Oriental peoples in the light of contemporary knowledge. No doubt, these voluminous notes are of high value both for the light which they throw upon the East and for the self-revelations they contain. As literature, the *Noten* has a high place among Goethe's prose works.[50]

The spirit permeated in the whole *Divan* is to combine in easy style the manner of the Orient as revealed in the Persian poetry of Hafiz with that of modern Western civilization. The cross-cultural literary synthesis of Near-Eastern and Western rhetoric and imagination is discernible in this book which caused a resurgence of Goethe's lyrical vein. Goethe appropriates the spirit of the foreign material in a productive manner. The style of Eastern poetry is not imitated either, but is freely and masterfully transposed to Goethe's own manner. The poet has abundantly used the literary, historical and religious personages, events, symbols and phraseology from the Islamic Orient. The creative genius of Goethe has made all these quotations and references the integral part of the European literary tradition and in this respect the *Divan* is the first and unique example in the whole Western literature. It must suffice to say that the work set the seal to Goethe's Orientalism and is rich in its own varied meters, and wise, beautiful poems. It proved a well of inspiration to the leading German poets of the next generation such as Rückert[51], Platen[52] and Bodenstedt.[53]

The *Divan* is a varied work, not only in themes and forms but also in quality. It contains metaphysical poems and drinking songs, lover's dialogues and moral apophthegms, epigrams, a legend, versified translations from the Qur'an, and a large number of the daily trivia, which Goethe often wrote in autograph albums and the like.[54]

In the middle of 1814, with the end of the War of Liberation, the disturbing political situation became rather calm and this restoration of peace caused Goethe's temporary rejuvenescence of spirit and productive activity, mingled with the renewed zest in life and quickened inspiration. Induced by some other factors too, he ultimately went to spend some time in the Rhine and Main country; the Rhine he had not seen for twenty-two years, and it was seventeen years since he had been in Frankfurt, his birthplace. During this journey, a delightful climate and beautiful landscapes, treasures of art and interesting antquities, pleasant and profitable social intercourse, and deferential respect from the various distinguished persons he met, gave him a succession of exhilarating experiencs.[55] This expedition brought to life the pleasant memories of his youth, when he first visited these places, and took him emotionally to those memorable youthful days which were conducive for his new experiences of creative productivity.

On 18th June 1814, the day of Waterloo, Goethe on a Rhine visit found a copy of Hammer's German translation of Hafiz and it had been uppermost in Goethe's mind throughout his journey. Simultaneously, another Austrian personality stepped into his life and harped on the strings of his heart which was at that time overflowing with youthful sentiments. One can say that if Hammer's translation provided the outward form and expression to Goethe's *Divan*, the emotional substance and inspiration came from

the other source and that was Marianne von Willemer, who touched anew the springs of his emotional nature.

G. H. Lewes, in his still fascinating biography of Goethe, recognises that his work was mainly autobiographical in inspiration[56] but Albert Bielschowsky shows that Goethe's writings were autobiographical throughout, and that when not so they were either of poor quality or remained mere fragments. This most reliable biographer named many female characters from his known works who, partly or completely, corresponded to him or to his female friends. For example, in the *Divan*, 'Suleika' is known with certainty to be the young actress and dancer, Marianne, who at that time stirred Goethe's still youthful emotions.[57]

During his frequent visits of the Rhineland, Goethe met Johann Jacob Willemer (1760-1838), a respected banker in Frankfurt, who had been a friend of his mother and had long been a friend of his own. As an intelligent and cultured person, he was fully aware of Goethe's intellectual capabilities.[58] He was now a widower of fifty-four and his household consisted of his two daughters (one a widow) and a third inmate who had had a history. She was Marianne Jung,[59] originally an opera-dancer whom, fourteen years before, Willemer had taken into his family and brought up with his children. Then she became his beloved and when Goethe visited him in 1814, he had just married her.

Of all the women with whom Goethe came into close contact Marianne von Willemer[60] seems to have been the most remarkable. Towards the end of his 65th year in 1814, his meeting with this young woman (thirty years of age), rekindled the lyric poet and he felt that the youthful ardour was reawakened in him, though temporarily.[61] Gay,

capricious, fanciful, with a graceful wilfulness, this young woman brought all who knew her under her seductive sway. To these gifts and qualities she added a charm of manner and a grace of speech and motion, which captivated all who met her. Such was the woman who undoubtedly awoke a genuine passion in Goethe, and is one of the most interesting personalities who figure in his biography. Of the two types of women between which Goethe's taste vacillated, the restful and stately, and the mercurial, she belonged to the latter. She was a woman of infinitely lively spirit, intellect and genius and she proved to be the real companion of her beloved poet. Their deep emotional and spiritual communion stirred their poetic instincts and they exchanged their inner feelings in the garb of poerty. The eighth part of the *Divan*, "Book of Suleika", is rightly called the duet of the loving pair, because four or five of the poems superscribed "Suleika" are by Marianne. Youthful "Zuleika", a living muse, who was intellectually congenial to aging man, invoked more poetry than all Goethe's previous loves. Reciprocally, an unsuspected and rich vein of lyric expression was also kindled in Marianne herself and she started writing poems, similar to the creative imagery and tone of Goethe's poetry of the *Divan*. If cordial temperament and poetic gifts of a higher order--for "Suleika's" contributions to the *Divan* are not inferior in inspiration and beauty to the old master's own--could have made any woman a worthy life-partner to the great poet, that woman was Marianne.

Goethe's biography explicitly reveals that throughout his life he was passionately involved in several women who set his heart on fire and held a permanent place as the inspiring source of his literary works. It is a very strange phenomenon that in all of Goethe's known love-affairs one can easily find a few commonalities such as the age

difference between Goethe and his beloved, who was usually much younger than the lover, most of them were married, having a nice social and marital status and, above all, after the lapse of a few months or years, when he felt the bond between the beloved and himself growing too strong, he escaped from the snares of the flesh and fled from her and never saw her again. It happened with Marianne also but he did not break all threads of old affectional relationship with her and kept up a friendly correspondence with her up to the last days of his life.

The youth-in-age and age-in-youth stays with Goethe almost to the end of his life, but it reached its apex when his relation with Marianne was becoming perilously intimate and set an unique example in responding to him in such a marvellous poetic style that he had to include her poems in his *Divan* without making any slight alteration, either in the form or in the content. During Goethe's Rhine-Main journeys, he spent most of his memorable time with Marianne in Heidelberg--a city where most of the love-seeking persons get their hearts lost. This city created a romantic milieu for Goethe's lyrical poetry, coupled with the poetic form and diction of the Muslim East. The beautiful landscapes and grandeur of this city, the calm flowing of Neckar and the strolling on its banks with Marianne,in whose love his heart was soaked, all made him rejuvenated.[62] Though a point of digression, but it must be heeded; the time Goethe spent in Heidelberg is reminiscent of Iqbal's sojourn there (in 1907) for brushing up his German language under the tutorship of Fraulein Emma Wegenast.[63] Regardless of some different aspects, one can trace out a few analogous facts relating to Goethe and Iqbal's stay in Heidelberg.

Emma (1879-1964) was nearly of the same age as of Marianne when she met Iqbal for the first time. Unlike

Goethe (65, when he became acquainted with his beloved) Iqbal (1877-1938) was in the prime of his youth. Emma did not marry throughout her life but, on the contrary, Iqbal was married in his teenage and due to certain reasons he was not fully satisfied with this early marriage experience. Information about Iqbal's brief stay in Heidelberg (approximately two and a half months) is meagre, scanty and lacks authenticity. Therefore their (Emma and Iqbal's) relationship remained in oblivion till the discovery of the twenty seven letters, written by Iqbal to Emma both in German and English. These letters clearly show their emotional and intellectual contact with each other.[64] This newly-found epistolary material reminds us of the correspondence between Goethe and Marianne.

Marianne, brought up in an artistic environment, had a graceful though slight poetic talent but under the impact of Goethe's personality her natural instinct was sharpened and ultimately she was drawn up into the stream of his poetic work. Emma was not gifted with poetic creativity but she was competent to appreciate and evaluate the intrinsic beauties of poetry. Her extensive study of German literature including Goethe's major literary masterpieces made it easy for her to converse in detail about the different aspects of German poetry with a high-ranking poet like Iqbal, while rambling leisurely on the banks of Neckar.

Like Goethe, Iqbal met Emma in Heidelberg and then after a few months they had to part, and never met again, nor did Iqbal ever return to this city, in spite of his extreme longing for it. In Goethe's "Liebesleben", it seems very strange that when his relation with women was becoming perilously intimate, he tore himself hurriedly away, with the deepest grief, and hastened back to a distant place.[65] The character of Goethe in flight from the one he loves has the quality of an open secret. Iqbal's permanent withdrawal

was not intentional but his separation from Emma, had some severe repercussions on both sides, as expressed in their intimate correspondence.

III

The advent of colonialism and imperialism of some of the European powers brought many Eastern regions under their sway and their presence, not only in the Levant and North Africa but also in the Indian Subcontinent, resulted in deep-rooted changes in their social, economic and cultural milieu. In the midst of the expansionistic designs of these warring nations, Germany kept herself aloof and did not participate in this race of colonialism. Instead, its interest in the East was exclusively scholarly rather than political and it paid more attention to the cultural wealth in the form of literature, languages and thought. Such German scholarship discovered a lot of material and adopted the various techniques for the elaboration of these newly-found sources, relating to the intellectual life of the Orient. Out of this valuable German contribution, the most renowned work is, no doubt, Goethe's *Divan* in which the poet took the flight on the powerful wings of his poetic creativity to the far-flung Eastern areas and came back, loaded with the wealth of most precious imaginative ideas and poetic lyricism.

It took the British centuries to establish their hegemony in the Indian Subcontinent and after getting a firm grip on the administrative reins they started another onslaught and that was on the intellectual boundaries of this region. In this domain, all their efforts were directed to acquaint the indigenous people with the rich treasures of literature. Obviously, Goethe did not come in this array of

prominent British writers, proposed vehemently by the authoritative academicians of the period. In spite of this intellectual embargo, as a worldly-known literary figure properly ranked with Shakespeare and Dante in the pantheon of poetry, Goethe, though unwanted, entered in the intellectual realm of this Subcontinent.

Goethe appeared first on the horizon of Indian literature through translation and it seems very astonishing that it happened during the middle of his life. The first book that brought him to public attention here was *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (orig. *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, 1774)--a novel which took the world by storm as the unrest and longing discontent of the period were depicted in it with artistic skill. Exactly after eighteen years of its publication in 1792, the English translation entitled *The Sorrows of Werther, a German Story* came out from the Clarendon Press, Calcutta (two vols., price six rupees, octavo). Unfortunately, very scanty information is available about this undertaking, even its translator is not named and not a single copy now exists.[66] Apparently, an important question arises that how this translation was so quickly rendered within a short time after the publication of its original and in a country that was situated so far away, both culturally and geographically. In Goethe's diary (*Tages- und Jahresbücher*) there are many references in the reading lists of English scholars and it can be presumed that this translation had something to do with the personal interest and on the suggestion of Sir William Jones (1746-1794, in Calcutta), an outstanding British orientalist and the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose pervasive influence is easily discernable in the studies of many famous writers.[67] Goethe was also one of them whose prologue to *Faust* is reminiscent of the renowned Sanskrit drama of Kalidasa,[68] translated by Jones in 1788. Furthermore,

Jones' translation of *Mu'allakat*, a valuable Arabic collection of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, forced Goethe to translate some of its parts[69] and, above all, Jones' *Poeseos Asiaticae*, an anthology of Asian poetry comprising six books in Latin[70] and a main source of Herder's *Blumen*[71], inspired Goethe tremendously and he openly confessed it in his *Noten*[72]. Voluminous biographical and epistolary material about Goethe provides no evidence to show the direct contact of Jones with him but it can be supposed that this missing link between them might be Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827), an orientalist of Göttingen University and a professor of oriental studies in Jena (1775-1788). He was one of Goethe's early contacts with the Orient and for this reason he held him in great esteem.[73] He frequently corresponded with Jones and only three years after the publication of his *Poesios Asiaticae*,[74] he made it available in Germany (1777) and dedicated it to Goethe.[75] Probably, Eichhorn was the real scholar who would have suggested to Jones to publish the translation of *Werther* during his stay in Calcutta.

After the appearance of this first translation of any work of Goethe, a complete century lapsed and no substantial contribution was made about him. Meanwhile, Goethe passed away, his hundreth birthday was lukewarmly celebrated in 1849, because his fame was at its lowest ebb and the celebration of the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1899, undoubtedly, brought his reputation in Germany to a kind of culmination. India did not respond to all these European learned assemblages about Goethe, as certain political developments and catastrophic incidents, like Mutiny in 1857, kept the new British rulers busy in yoking the local people.

Just after the normalisation of the political situation in India, interest in Goethe in the local intelligentsia was

slightly revived but this time it took a long stride from Calcutta to the western coastal regions of Bombay and Gujrat. Belonging to the metropolis of Maharashtra (i.e., Bombay), Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, an erudite Parsi scholar holding distinctive titles of "Shams-ul-Ulama" (sun of the learned men) and "Sir" conferred on him both by his countrymen and the British government[76]. He took life-long interest in the biography and literary works of Goethe, spanning from his early youth to the last days. Probably, he was the first Indian savant who had an opportunity to visit Goethe's birthplace in Frankfurt am Main (on 21 September 1889) and enumerated in detail all the four sides of his statue, erected in the same city[77]. He learnt German--something very rare in Indian scholarship--but his knowledge of this language became rusty and he found it difficult to utilise the original sources and translate the relevant passages relating to his studies.

The scholarly interest of Dr. Modi in Goethe was awakened when he read an article on *Divan* by E. Dowden, published in a reputed journal "Contemporary Review[78]" (London) of July 1908. Influenced by his religious persuasion, he concentrated more on the eleventh book of the *Divan*, "Buch des Parsen" (Book of the Parsis) and the explanations made by Goethe in his *Noten* under the heading "Aeltere Perser" (Old Persians). The outcome of his research was his valuable article on Goethe's "Buch des Parsen" in which he outlines Goethe's life (mostly based on English sources) and character; gives a short account of the *Divan*; comments on the main features of the "Book of Parsis" and at the end a translation (by Noti and Hömel, two Jesuit Fathers of Bombay) of the "Book of Parsis" and the relevant passage from the *Noten* has been given.[79] From a cursory look at the vast range of Modi's scholarship, it is evident that his main area of study was closely linked with

ancient Persia and in this perspective his detailed study of one aspect of Goethe's *Divan* still holds its uniqueness and no other Goethean expert has so far written anything on this subject.

Dr. Modi continued to write on Goethe, but now from another angle, and that was of Hafiz whose poetry he admired greatly. He delved into the poetic subtleties of Hafiz and Goethe and traced out the similarities between their form and content.[80] Here, it deserves to be mentioned that one of his co-religionists, Rustam Pestonji Bhajiwalla, sent an autographed copy of his new book entitled *Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayam* to Iqbal. In the foreword, Dr. Modi commented, though briefly, on Goethe's poetic homage to Hafiz and stressed more on the mystic element in Goethe's poetry.[81]

Parallel to the mainstream of studies about Goethe in big cultural centres of India, a slow-moving wave of interest in Goethe's works flowed and comparatively in small places and in the languages, spoken there, one can trace some vestiges of this rather weak tradition of Goethean studies. For example, Narsinhrao (1859-1937), an outstanding Gujrati poet, translated into his own language, an episode from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* that was published at the end of the nineteenth century.[82]

It is a strange phenomenon that a galaxy of intellectual luminaries appeared on Indian horizon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Being Indian Muslims and highly educated, mostly from the European universities, they tried to uplift their community, both politically and educationally, and created a consciousness for their bright future.[83] To this group of dignitaries, who gained prominence in their respective fields of interest, belonged Abdullah Yusuf Ali (1872-1953)[84]. Awarded with a

scholarship from the Bombay Government, he proceeded to England for higher education and on his return was appointed as an officer in the Indian Civil Service. He went back to England in 1905 and married an English lady. He eagerly participated in the assemblages of the Muslim personalities including Iqbal. Afterwards, Iqbal sought Yusuf Ali out as principal of Islamia College (Lahore) in 1925, although there was a vast political gulf between them but they maintained a cordiality with each other.[85]

From the early period of A. Yusuf Ali, the quest to reconcile East and West remained a focal point for him. For bridging these two continents, he was captivated by Goethe's creative links with the Orient, who was also striving for the confluence of these two oceans. The outcome of this approach of young Yusuf Ali (thirty-three) was his first paper entitled "Goethe's Orientalism" which he read before the English Goethe Society (London) in 1906 and published in the same year in a leading British journal.[86] The contents and treatment of the subject confirmed the writer as a young man of great promise. It also shows the idealistic thinking of young Yusuf Ali, and in particular his knowledge of esoteric orders.

In this array of reputed scholars and writers, another widely-known literary personality of this Subcontinent holds a distinctive place in the annals of Indian as well as world literature. This was Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a Noble-Laureate in Literature (1913), whose humanist attitude, reflected in his literary pursuits, concentrates on diminishing the basic conflict between East and West. Throughout his life, Tagore endeavoured for a progressive reconciliation of these two political concepts in a spirit of mutual understanding and enlightenment. Therefore, he is commonly called the 'Reconciler of East and West.'

Tagore was closely linked with Germany, a country he visited three times (1921, 1926 and 1930). During his first visit, he was received with immense admiration. His 61st birthday was jubilantly celebrated throughout the country and he lectured in almost all the universities and learned societies of the main cities (like Berlin, Munich, Hamburg etc.). Journals and newspapers devoted much space to Tagore's life and literary achievements. Soon, a voluminous uncritical biography of Tagore (by Engelhardt) and his *Collected Works* (published by Wolff Verlag) came out and millions of their copies were sold out within a short time. The German Führer-worship of Tagore deeply influenced the intellectual minds and the literary scenario of Germany.

Tagore's interest in Goethe commenced when he was merely a teenager. His earliest literary essays included one on Anglo-Saxon Literature, another on Anglo-Norman Literature, a third on Dante, a fourth on Petrarch and a fifth on Goethe, appended with a few translations in each case. All these articles were published in a Bengali magazine, *Bharati* (1878), edited by his elder brother, Dwijendranath Tagore. Afterwards, he made serious efforts to learn German under the tutorship of a missionary lady of that country and she was astonished to find how quickly her pupil was attaining the mastery of this language. However, he picked up enough German to work his way through Heinrich Heine (with 'immense pleasure') and through *Faust*. In a letter to Pramath Chaudhari (3rd June, 1890), he mentions reading Goethe's *Faust* in the original.

Tagore frequently referred to Goethe in his prose-writings but the purview of the present study does not allow to reproduce all of them here. Nevertheless, a few of his comments about Goethe will be sufficient, before the nineteenth century ended. The first one is from

Chinnapatra 149 (5th October, 1895) in which he says that in order to avoid the over-abundance in enjoyments of the mind or in material comforts, he was treasured in his memory a saying of Goethe:

Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren.

(Thou must do without, must do without)

The other reference is in connection with Tagore's *Urvası*. Writing about this poem in 1896 to a Bengali novelist, he clarifies that his *Urvasī* symbolizes what Goethe calls 'The Eternal Woman: Ewige Weibliche.'

Amidst the numerous pre-occupations of Tagore's eventful life, he could not write in detail about Goethe, but interest in the creative writings of this German poet remained alive upto the end of his life. On 11th October 1931, he sent a message to "Welt Goethe Ehrung" (an organisation set up for observance of Goethe's death centenary on 22nd March 1932) in which he paid his homage to the unceasing memory of Goethe.

Some Tagorean critics have made penetrating comparative studies between Goethe and Tagore and pointed out certain biographical and poetical similarities. They are of the opinion that Tagore's poetry can be compared to the everchanging art of Goethe with its universal creative range; Tagore and Goethe are two points intimately attached to each other and their poetical creations possess the same richness and infinite variety.[87]

IV

Existing biographical material furnishes very scanty information about the early part of Iqbal's life and it seems

rather difficult to determine when he exactly came into contact with Goethe. As a born-poet, gifted immensely by God, he would have been familiar mostly with those English poets who were included in the English text books, prescribed by the educational experts of the British Government. After coming to Lahore for higher education (1895) Iqbal's poetic talent was stimulated by the new intellectual milieu of the cultural center of Punjab and gradually the boundaries of his literary attainments started expanding. Poets other than English also attracted him and as his first available letter (28th February 1899) shows that he was eager to collect the photographs not only of notable English poets but also poets of German and French extraction.[88] From such a list, Goethe could not be excluded.

Obviously, Iqbal's first acquaintance with Goethe was indirect and that was through English literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Goethe drew the attention of some English poets and critics and they evaluated his personality and poetic genius, interspersed with selective translations from his literary masterpieces. Iqbal was fully aware of these writings, not only as a brilliant student but also as a teacher of English literature for more than three years.[89]

In these early days, both as a student and teacher, Iqbal was deeply impressed by Sir Thomas Arnold (1864-1930), a reputed British orientalist[90], who came from Aligarh to Lahore in 1898 and was appointed as the Professor of Philosophy in the Government College. He contributed tremendously in reshaping Iqbal's literary pursuits and philosophical thought. Their close relationship remained unimpaired, even after Arnold's permanent departure from India in 1904. Iqbal considered him as his 'guru' (spiritual mentor; in a letter to Nancy Arnold, 11 January, 1911) and

his venerative sentiments are impressively portrayed in one of his poems[91]. Arnold was well aware of Oriental influences on the German literature and his views, expressed in one of the articles of the *Legacy of Islam*,[92] are reminiscent of Iqbal's introduction to his *Payam-i-Mashriq* (= *Payam*). It can be inferred that Arnold may have introduced Iqbal to Goethe and his poetic interest in the East.[93]

In this period, the interest in English literature grew apace and our intelligentsia, though very meagre in number, was learning about new concepts of world literature and its comparative study. Among such poets other than English, Goethe was the only European poet who held a fascination for Western-educated Indians of the period, perhaps because of his sympathetic and, to some extent, unbiased approach to Islamic Orient, and the cultural heritage of the Muslims especially in his *Divan*. Belonging to this new class of Indian intellectuals, Iqbal was fascinated by Goethe's creative genius.

From all these factual evidences, it seems that Iqbal first read Goethe at the end of the nineteenth century and the first reference to Goethe, without mentioning his name, occurs in his Urdu poem "Ghalib" that was published in a local literary journal, commenced with the new century.[94] The concerned couplet is as follows:

Ah! you are resting in the midst of Delhi's ruins
Your counterpart is resting in the Weimar's garden[95]

In order to trace out the creative source of this poem, it could be suggested with some certainty that its second line might have taken from Matthew Arnold's (1822-1888) well-known poem, "Memorial Verses" (April 1850), that is:

Goethe in Weimar sleeps, and Greece[96]

Iqbal's ranking of Ghalib as 'compeer' of Goethe have invoked many Iqbalian critics to search for the parallels in their life patterns and thought. Disturbing political circumstances, zest for Persian literature (including Hafiz), dislike of national and religious narrow-minded prejudices, concepts of life after death, attainment of earthly happiness, poetic fervour, aspiring freedom from the shackles of social customs, the philosophical content and the positive outlook in life -- these were the commonalities of Goethe and Ghalib foremost in Iqbal's mind at the time of composing the above line.[97] Despite all these hair-splitting quest for having an access to the creative source of Iqbal, it would suffice to say that Iqbal had already read Goethe's poetry, not in the original but through English translations which were extant and easily available in the second half of the nineteenth century.

At the instigation of Prof. T. W. Arnold, Iqbal proceeded to England in 1905 and, thus, fulfilled his desire to reach there after breaking the chains of the Punjab.[98] Hermann Hesse (1877-1968), a distinguished German writer, enumerates three spiritual realms as the sources of Iqbal's works: Indian world, Islamic world and the world of Western thoughts[99] and it was the last one in which Iqbal now stepped in physically. Iqbal's stay in Europe, first in England and then in Germany, is really a turning-point of his life and it played a vital role in reshaping his personality and thoughts. In England, he paid serious attention to study the German vitalist philosophy in the original, as he had learnt German language within a very short time:[100] an intellectual freak that enabled him to read also Goethe. In Cambridge, he developed friendly relations with Germans of his age, both male and female, and scholars with whom he discussed poetry and higher philosophy with great

interest.[101] Usually, he counselled his friends that "If you wish to increase your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal."[102] Here, he was deeply involved in the poetic excellence of Hafiz and sometimes he felt himself incarnated with the spirit of this Persian poet.[103] He referred frequently to the poetic beauties and philosophical-mystical concepts of Hafiz and compared them with European poets and philosophers, naturally with Goethe also who was inspired by Hafiz.

Iqbal embarked for Germany in 1907, once again persuaded by his learned teacher, Prof. T. W. Arnold, to undertake this journey.[104] For Iqbal, Germany was a goal for everybody who intended to increase his understanding in any branch of learning[105], but his main objective was to finalise the script of his doctoral dissertation and then submit it to Munich University (Iqbal's stay in Germany is from 20 July to 5 November 1907). As stated by Atiya Begum, who accompanied Iqbal in Heidelberg, that "Germany seemed to pervade his being, and he was picking knowledge from the trees that he passed by and the grass he trod on."[106] Breathing in the country of his favourite poet, Goethe, his poetic talent peaked and when he reached Heidelberg for improving his German language, he found that its brisk romantic air really rejuvenated him. Like Goethe, in the captivating atmosphere of the city, he was fortunate enough to have the company of such females who, as an embodiment of beauty and intellect, inspired him both emotionally and intellectually. Among these young women, who provided for him a lyrical scenario, Fraulein Emma Wegenast was the only German lady with whom he had a special attachment.[107] She also reciprocated and their mutual love lasted at least as long as Iqbal was in Germany[108] between 1907 and some time early in 1908. Though they parted but they remained spiritually linked

with each other and this relationship remained fresh as they kept up desultory correspondence, spanning from 1907 to 1932 with occasional interruptions due to political calamities. These letters (both German and English) give a new dimension to Iqbal's life which was hitherto hidden from us and also fill in many of the inexplicable voids in his early romantic poetry.[109]

This newly-discovered epistolary material informs us that Emma Wegenast (Heilbronn 26-8-1879--Heidelberg 16-10-1964) was teaching in the Pension Scherer, a private tuition-centre for foreign students of the Heidelberg University who wanted to improve their German language. Iqbal also stayed here for this purpose, but was soon entranced with her charming beauty and deeply impressed by her vast study of German literature including Goethe. Strolling on the banks of Neckar, they used to converse about Goethe, particularly his Faust, and she helped him to understood the difficult passages of this drama. A few relevant parts of these letters are as follows:

"You remember that Goethe [Iqbal always writes 'Geothe'] said in the moment of his death----"More Light". Death opens up the way to more light, and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth. I remember the time when I read Goethe's poems with you, and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other--so much so that I spiritually share in your sorrow."[110]

(Lahore 30 July 1913)

"I may come to Europe next year....If I come at all I shall certainly visit old Germany and see you once more at Heidelberg or Heilbronn whence we shall together make a pilgrimage to the sacred grave of the great master Goethe."[111]

(Lahore 7 June 1914)

"I shall never forget the days at Heidelberg when you taught me Goethe's Faust and helped me in many ways. Those were happy days indeed!"[112]

(London, 20 October 1931)

"The memory of the days when we read together Goethe's Faust always comes back to me with painful happiness...Germany was a kind of second home to my spirit. I learned much and thought much in that country. The home of Goethe has found a permanent place in my soul."[113]

(Lahore, 17 January 1932)

Two years after Emma's death, her elder sister, Sofie Wegenast (3.4.1876--30.5.1978), recalled those memorable old days in an interview, articulating the ingenuous conversations between Iqbal and her sister, in these words:

"Mit Herrn Professor Dr. Iqbal, der sich ganz seinem Studium widmete,war (Emma) täglich zusammen und freute sich immer auf die geistreichen Gespräche, die stets geführt wurden, auf das Lesen von Goethe, seinem Lieblingsdichter, das dann immer besprochen wurde...Dass meine Schwester auf seine Entwicklung einen gewissen Einfluss gehabt haben soll, wurde ihr von Cambridge aus von einem langjährigen indischen Freund bestätigt. Er shrieb nämlich, dass sich Herr Prof. Dr. Iqbal, der nach Cambridge übersiedelte, so sehr verändert habe, dass man ihn kaum wiederkenne--und das sei einzig und allein ihrem graten Einfluss zu verdanken."[114]

Iqbal never met Emma again, although after a quarter of a century he came to London for participating in the Second and Third Round Table Conferences between the autumn of 1931 and the end of 1932. He intended to revisit

Heidelberg just to see Emma but he could not come because of his other preoccupations. Nevertheless, the thread of their relationship remained intact and they kept their flame of platonic love burning through correspondence. Emma, armed with all her weaponry of beauty, enamoured Iqbal.[115] Besides, he was deeply impressed by her intellectual attainments, especially her extensive study of German literature and as some contemporary evidences indicate that they mostly conversed and discussed about Goethe and his *Faust*. So, Emma played an important role in changing Iqbal's attitude, enriching his lyric poetry and intensifying his interest in Goethe.

Iqbal's stay in Europe (1905-1908) was a turning-point in his life and it left lasting imprints on his general behaviour, world-view and poetry.[116] He returned to India, equipped with high academic qualities, that were very rare among Muslims of that period, and was warmly welcomed by his compatriots. Soon, some annoying incidents, coupled with domestic problems, disillusioned him and he decided to leave India and take refuge in some comfortable place[117]--a painful desire similar to Goethe's that was forcefully expressed in the opening poem of *Divan*. In these disgusting circumstances, he took mental flight and quickened the pace of correspondence with Emma, tinged with nostalgic thinking.

At the same time, he started jotting down his thoughts in the form of a note-book entitled "Stray Reflections"[118] (dated 27 April 1910). Precisely, it contains his views about the books he read, his thoughts about the environment he lived in and reminiscences of his memorable time which he spent in Europe. Its aphoristic style and general textual framework have been modelled on Goethe's *Maximen und Reflexionen*[119] that was published one year after his death

(1833). English translation of this diary was in Iqbal's personal collection and he used to read it regularly.[120]

In this note book, Iqbal frequently recorded his views about Germans and the outstanding representatives of their intellectual heritage. He considers Germans a most fortunate nation to have poets like Heinrich Heine and Goethe. All his concepts are in condensed form, but they show his penetrating study and deep insight of German literature and philosophy. In this context, he very often comments about Goethe and realizes his limitless creative imagination in comparison to his own[121] and openly confesses that Goethe led him into the "inside" of things.[122] Above all, he has paid rich tribute to *Faust* (pt. I, 1808), a *chef-d'oeuvre* of Goethe, which as a representative of 'Faustian Culture' (termed by O. Spengler), treats modern man's sense of alienation and his need to come to terms with the world in which he lives. It seems that Iqbal has grasped the spirit of Goethe's crowning work and in his deep understanding of this great dramatic poem Emma Wegenast immensely contributed as his teacher and all these penetrating and thought-provoking discussions were still fresh in Iqbal's mind. In this diary, Iqbal writes about *Faust* in these words:

"It is Goethe's Faust .....which reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it."

(*Stray Reflections*, op. cit., p. 70)

"Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century--nay, the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is

as good as the creation of a beautiful universe of the chaos of formless matter."

(Ibid., p. 74)

"His *Faust* is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised."

(Ibid., p. 122)

During his sojourn in Germany, Iqbal was preoccupied with improving his German language or making emendations in his doctorate thesis, and hardly devoted much time to his poetry, inspite of the presence of much poetical motivations. However, it is evident from his hand-written poetic collection that he produced a few poems while he was staying in Heidelberg and Munich.[123] Inspired by the natural beauty he was living in and the company he had around him, he expressed his feelings with poetic skills, but, strangely enough, no tangible effect of Goethe's form and content can be traced, except one poem "An evening"[124] which reflects the poet's feelings created by the silent serene scene on the banks of Neckar in Heidelberg and as claimed by some German Iqbalists is an unmistakable echo of Goethe's "Wandrers' Nachtlied."[125]

On Iqbal's arrival in India, huge embarrassing problems, both financial and domestic, were waiting for, and once he seriously thought of giving up poetry. His newly-adopted profession of law and his teaching responsibilities did not allow him to spare any time for his creative thinking.[126] Gradually, this unpropitious situation became less intense, and he came back whole-heartedly to his real domain of poetry , but with drastic changes in his philosophical concepts and poetic sensibilities. In this new ideological and poetical resurgence, no trace of German literature or Goethe is visible, except for a passing reference to *Faust* in the introduction of his *The Secrets of*

Self[127], even the correspondence of this period (1908-1920) is completely silent about Goethe. The relevant passage is the following:

"When Faust, the hero of the famous German poet, Goethe, of the nineteenth century, reads 'action' instead of 'word' in the first verse of Psalm John ("In the beginning there was word. The word was with God and was also God"), then in reality his penetrating eye sees that point which the Hindu philosophers have observed centuries before."

(Translation)

One year after *Stray Reflections*, in 1911, in an annual session of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Mawlawi Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, in his lecture on "Islam and Modern Sciences", addressed to Iqbal that "Munich University of Germany owes you and only you are able to pay this debt with interest."[128] Iqbal complied with this sincere suggestion but this compliance took some years and ultimately it assumed the form of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Persian but with a preface in Urdu) that appeared in 1923 and according to its sub-title, it is a response to Goethe--the first and only answer of a Muslim poet to a German poet whom he had emulated in this book.

Intermittingly 1910 and 1923, many changes took place, caused by contemporary political vicissitudes and the influences mostly disguised in a mystical apparel. This intellectual transformation led him to a new world of ideas which were entirely alien to the native public, particular in his *Asrar* and in its sequel *Rumuz*, and they showed his new world-view and approach to life. His areas of philosophical, ideological and poetical interests also shifted. Formerly, a staunch follower of McTaggart, a neo-Hegelian of

Cambridge, he turned to the powerful philosophy (élan vital) of the French philosopher, Henry Bergson (1859-1941) and French orientalist, Louis Massignon (1882-1962) whose pioneering works on martyr-mystic Hallaj (d. 922) deeply influenced his mystical concepts. Once he had regarded himself as the incarnation of the spirit of Hafiz,[129] now he severely criticised him, a very shocking phenomenon for his readers whom he warned "not to graze any longer in the beautiful gardens of Iran, but rather return to the sands of Arabia, and to drink the wholesome water of Zamzam instead of imbibing intoxicating Persian wine which might be useless to enable them to face the difficulties of life."[130]

After a decade or so, Iqbal returned to Goethe, but this time in an entirely new perspective of intellectual and political outlook. He was fully conscious of the "painful happenings" of the First World War (1914-1918) and its aftermath led him to deep ponderings of this historic catastrophe that ruined everything, but he visualised a new world emerging from the ashes of pre-war civilisation and culture. Iqbal found many similarities between this transitional phase and the political chaos, caused by the Napoleonic Wars, which forced Goethe to plunge deeper into the Orient. Probably, this comparative study of world history reminded him of Goethe who sought to fly away from the tumultuous situation of Europe to the East and the outcome of his spiritual flight was the *West-Eastern Divan* whose poetic response was conceived by Iqbal immediately after the end of War.

The dreadful consequences of this War turned the mind of some distinguished Indian personalities in the direction of racial, cultural and religious unity as a need of humanity. Among such intellectual celebrities, one was a reputed poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who sought patiently

and diligently to found a house of Goodwill and Friendship, where East and West may meet in mutual regard, and the adherent of different persuasions may learn to understand and appreciate one another's points of view in an atmosphere of sincere friendship. Immediately after the end of War, Iqbal started writing the *Payam* and it can be presumed that he would have thought in this respect to achieve a goal of bringing the East and the West closer to each other.[131]

It is evident from some of Iqbal's Urdu letters that he first disclosed about his book-in-preparation (i.e. *Payam*) to Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, a distinguished scholar and his esteemed friend, in 1919:

"At present, I am writing a reply to the *Divan* of a Western poet (i.e. Goethe) and about half of it has been completed. Some poems will be in Persian and some in Urdu..... Two great German poets, Goethe and Uhland[132], were barristers. After practicing for a short time Goethe was appointed as an educational advisor to the state of Weimar and, thus, found much time to pay attention to his artistic intricacies. Uhland devoted his whole life to the law suits, and, therefore, he could write a few poems."[133]

The relevant excerpts from other letters are the following:

"Now I am writing a collection of Persian poetry in response to Goethe's *Divan* and its one third part has been written.... I believe that this collection will be translated, because in it every aspect of Europe's intellectual life has been regarded, and it will be tried to warm a bit the cold thoughts and ideas of the West."[134]

"In response to Goethe, I have written *Payam-i-Mashriq* that is near completion. I hope that it will be published before the end of this year."[135]

"In response to the *Eastern Divan* of Goethe (a German poet) I have written a collection of Persian verses. It will soon be printed. In the preface, I shall try to show how Persian literature has influenced German literature."[136]

"I have written *Payam-i-Mashriq* in reply to Western *Divan* of Goethe, a famous German poet. It is in print. I believe, you will like it."[137]

On Ist January 1923, the title of Knighthood from the British government was conferred on Iqbal. On this occasion a grand fête was held in his honour at the Jahangir's tomb in the suburb of Lahore and many official and unofficial dignitaries, including the Punjab Governor, attended the ceremony. In this gathering, Iqbal for the first time declared publicly that he was responding to Goethe in the form of his *Payam* and at the end of his speech he recited some of the poems of this work.[138]

Because of these personal remarks and its pre-publication coverage in the literary journals,[139] *Payam* gained much popularity and the intellectuals as well as the common readers waited impatiently to see it in printed form. Finally, in May 1923, its first edition came out and was warmly received by the masses. *Payam* was presented to the public with the intention of "warming the cold thoughts and ideas of the West."[140] In the preface, Iqbal himself has outlined the objective of this most important collection of Persian poetry in these words:

"I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the Western *Divan*. The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities. There is a certain amount of similarity between the East of today and the Germany of a

hundred years ago. The fact, however, is that the inner turmoil which the nations of the world are going through today, and which we are unable to regard objectively inasmuch as we ourselves are affected by it, is the forerunner of a social and spiritual revolution of very great magnitude. The Great War of Europe was a catastrophe which has almost wholly destroyed the old world order. Out of the ashes of civilisation and culture nature is now building up a new humanity and a new world for that humanity to live in. We can catch a glimpse of the new world order in the works of Professor Einstein and Bergson. Europe has seen with its own eyes the dreadful consequences of its scientific, moral and economic pursuits and has also heard from Signor Nitti (a former Prime Minister of Italy) the heartrending story of the decadence of the West. It is a matter for regret, however, that the intelligent but conservative statesmen of Europe have not been able to comprehend the real significance of the revolution that has taken place in the human spirit. From the purely literary point of view, the weakening of the life potentialities of Europe after the painful happenings of the World War is detrimental to the development of a sound and mature literary ideal. There is, indeed, a danger that the minds of nations may not be subjugated by that time-worn and devitalizing escapist mentality which cannot differentiate between the thoughts of the head and the feelings of the heart.....

The East, and particularly the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after having slumbered for centuries. The Eastern people have, however, realised that life cannot effect a revolution in its environment before it has had, in the first instance, a revolution in the inner depths of its own being, nor can a new world assume external form until its existence takes shape in the hearts of men. That immutable

law of the Universe which the Quran has enunciated in the simple but comprehensive verse:

"God does not change the destiny of people unless they change themselves." [xiii. 11]

holds good for the individual as well as the collective aspects of life. In my Persian works I have tried to keep this truth in mind."[141]

The *Payam* has been very rightly acclaimed as "a genuine attempt by an eminent Eastern poet, endowed with knowledge of Western literature and thought....to enter into a dialogue with Europe."[142] The work includes a collection of quatrains,[143] followed by a group of poems setting forth Iqbal's philosophy of life in lyrical form and some poetical sketches that picture European poets, philosophers and politicians.[144]

The repetitive statements of Iqbal and the sub-title of the *Payam* indicate that it was written as a response to Goethe and here it means not his personality as a whole but only his *Divan* that was the real source of his poetic inspiration.[145] Being an enthusiastic admirer of Goethe from his early age, this is for the first time that Iqbal mentioned *Divan* and it seems very strange that afterwards he never referred to Goethe's *Divan*, neither in his writings nor in conversations. Although there are a few similarities in the poetic form of *Payam* and *Divan*, especially their short poems, arranged in sections under separate titles but "there is no correspondence as regards the subject-matter"[146] of these two books. In the first edition of *Payam* (May 1923), nothing is traceable that has been directly taken from the *Divan* [147], but after some months when its

second edition appeared (1924), Iqbal added two poems namely *Ju-e-Ab* (Rivulet) and *Hur-o-Sha'ir* (Houri and the Poet),[148] an entirely free translation of Goethe's *Mahomets' Gesang*[149] and a reply to *Huri und Dichter*[150], respectively, only the last one is from the *Divan*. These clear borrowings are only confined to the beautiful imagery and excellent style of Goethe and Iqbal's brief explanatory notes with these two poems show his poetic honesty. Above all, the most important aspect of the *Divan* is that its motivations are absolutely incompatible with the *Payam*. As stated earlier, Goethe's interest, mostly uncritical and literary, in the Orient was intensified by Hafiz, coupled with his heart-burning emotional attachment with Marianne von Willemer, whereas Iqbal's remarks about the West are very critical and no personal incentive was operative in the preparation of the *Payam*. Contemporary political situation is, to some extent, a common factor between these two books but their approach to these tumultuous incidents is entirely different. Goethe took the flight to the "reinen Orient"[151] and enriched his lyrical poetry but Iqbal expressed "subtle emotions and abstruse philosophical ideas, often couched in the conventional imagery of Persian poetry, yet expressed originally",[152] also intended to send a message to the West that was still licking its wounds after the First World War. Irrespective of their varied interests in the East and the West, Goethe by nature remained European and Iqbal never lost his Oriental spirit.

The introduction to the *Payam* is, no doubt, the first of its kind in the history of Urdu literature in which Iqbal has precisely outlined the multifarious influences of the Oriental Movement on German literature that reached its apex in Goethe's time and afterwards continued by the high-ranking poets like Rückert, Platen and Bodenstedt by their translations and original poetic collections. It is said

that "his command over language wins our admiration, while his precision, brevity and scholarly simplicity, combined with a consummate mastery of his subject, impart a special charm to the introduction."[153]

While writing this introduction, Iqbal was fully aware of the non-availability of the relevant sources and he had to rely on his memory of previous studies or information probably gathered during his sojourn in Germany. Nevertheless, he was conscious about the sketchy treatment of the subject, as he himself writes in this introduction:

"In order, however, to be able to write the complete history of the "Oriental Movement" and to assess the true magnitude of Persian poets, it is necessary to undertake a prolonged and detailed study of the subject, for which I have neither time nor material. It is possible that this brief sketch might evoke some enthusiasm in a younger man for further research."[154]

Plenty of material on Iqbal's life and works has been published so far but, unfortunately, we are still waiting for such a young devoted researcher, as aspired by Iqbal, who can narrate in detail the different periods of the history of the Oriental Movement in German literature. On the contrary, some eminent Orientalists of the German-speaking countries have presented valuable studies of this Movement and its prominent representatives like Goethe and Rückert, particularly during the last fifty years or so.[155]

This introduction also reveals that Iqbal knew some of the German sources relating to the Persian influences on *Divan* as well as on the German literature of the nineteenth century. In this context, he has referred to Paul Horn's[156] book on Persian literature[157] and an article in which he discussed the question of how much the Germans are indebted to Persia,[158] but both these studies were

inaccessible to him. He has also given a passage concerning the *Divan* from A. Bielschowsky, an erudite and most authentic German biographer of Goethe.[159] Apart from these two references, all other information about Goethe and the Oriental Movement in German literature has been taken from Arthur Remy's book.[160] It is evident from their comparative study that Iqbal's introduction is entirely based on Remy, even the similies and metaphors, commonly used in the Persian poetry, are the same as quoted in this treatise. All these extensive borrowings negate the highly appreciative remarks about the originality of the contents of this introduction.

In the dedicatory epistle of the *Payam*, Iqbal bracketed Goethe with the King of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan, and thus brought them together as his political and poetical ideals. Undoubtedly, Iqbal is the first poet of the Oriental world who has paid such a tribute to the German poet and it shows not only his true and deep understanding of the poetry and thought of Goethe but also Iqbal's encompassing knowledge of his biographical details helped to compare himself with Goethe. It is noticeable that usually in such comparative remarks, Iqbal extolled Goethe in highest panegyrics and considered him superior in the vastness and the infinitude of his poetic imagination. Keeping in view Iqbal's characteristic humility, such comparisons are all in Goethe's favour, but this attitude provides an ample proof of his greatness as a poet. The relevant verses of this introductory part of the *Payam* are as follows:

> That Western sage, that bard of Germany,
> That ardent lover of things Pahlavi,
> Saluted the East with his great *Divan*,
> That tribute to the poets of Iran
> And veritable pictureügallery

Of vignettes, all in Persian imagery.
To that salute this book is a reply,
This gleam of moonlight in the Eastern sky.
Without deluding my self, I will dare
To tell you how the two of us compare.
His was the vital sport of the young West;
Mine has been wrung from the East's aged breast.
A flourishing spring garden gave him bearth;
I am a product of a long dead earth.
He was a nightingale that filled with song
An orchard; I am but a desert gong,
A signal for the caravan to start.
We both have delved into the inmost heart
Of being; both of us are messages
Of life in the midst of death's ravages;
Two daggers, morningülustered, mirrorübright;
He naked; I still sheathed, concealed from sight.
Two pearls, both precious, both unmatched, are we,
Both from the depths of an unfathomed sea.
He burst out of the mother of pearl's womb,
For he could rest no longer in that tomb.
But I, who still am lying shell-enshrined,
Have yet to be astir in the sea's mind.[161]

The *Divan* provided to Iqbal its outward form and expression and this vessel was filled with some of the contents which have been taken from Goethe. In one of his revealing poems entitled *Jalal and Goethe* he imagines Goethe meeting Jalaluddin Rumi, for whom Iqbal has the greatest admiration, and reciting *Faust* to him. Through this celestial meeting, Iqbal brought together not only two of the greatest spirits of the East and the West, but also the two men who had influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and an artist."[162] In a footnote to the poem Iqbal writes:

"In Faust, the poet speaks of the progressive potentialities of human development and, for this purpose, has used the old legend of the Philosopher's covenant with the Devil with such consummate art that it is impossible to imagine anything more perfect."[163]

The poem is as follows:

In Paradise the German seer
Met his Iranian compeer,
Who, though without prophetic fame,
Has an inspired book to his name.[164]
To that connoisseur of the real
He read out his tale of the deal
The doctor and the Devil made.
When he had heard it, Rumi said:
"Portrayer of the inmost soul
Of poetry, whose effort's goal
Is capturing the seraphim
And God himself, yes even Him,
Your thought, consorting with your heart,
Remade the world by means of art.
O you have seen the spirit's flame
Ablaze in its corporeal frame,
And you from observation know
How in their shells pearls form and grow.
All this you know, but there is more.
Not all can learn Love's secret lore,
Not all can enter its high shrine.
'One only knows by grace divine
That wisdom is the Devil's own,
While Love belongs to man alone."[165]

Another poem of the *Payam* is "The Huri and the Poet" and as elucidated by Iqbal himself, it is written in reply to Goethe's long poem of the *Divan* namely "Huri

und Dichter." Iqbal has used the form of dialogue between the human being and the heavenly body and expressed his constant longing for endless love and the static place like paradise that is not suitable for his burning flame. It is argued that "Iqbal's poem expresses his whole attitude towards life and has not been merely inspired by the occasion, as seems to be the case with Goethe."[166]

In this series of poetic imitations of Goethe, the most important is a free rendering of his *Mahomets Gesang* (Muhammad's Song). In a footnote Iqbal clarifies that "The Rivulet" is a free translation of Goethe's famous poem entitled *Mahomets Gesang*. In this poem, which was written long before the *West-östlicher Divan*, the German poet gives a beautiful exposition of the Islamic concept of life. It was, in fact, part of a projected Islamic play which he was unable to complete. The object of the present translation is merely to bring out Goethe's point of view".

As mentioned earlier, Goethe composed this 'Song' as a part of his dramatic presentation *Mahomet* that remained incomplete.[167] It was separately published in 1774 as an antiphony between Ali and Fatima. Later on, with some retouchings by the poet this song came out with the present title *Mahomets Gesang*[168] in which the Holy Prophet "is symbolized as a stream which, emerging from a small fountain, grows into a brook, and eventually into a mighty river, carrying with him all the smaller rivers, which he brings back to the Father, the fathomless ocean. Goethe has very well interpreted the mystical feeling, expressed by Maulana Rumi and others, that prophetic activity indeed resembles a river nourished by rain of grace, river-like, and the Holy Prophet will bring home all those who search for the same goal and cannot find the way by themselves...The truly Islamic character of Goethe's poem is evident; that is why Iqbal has given a very free Persian version of it in the

Payam-i-Mashriq; and we may assume that the *nom de plume* which he is given by Rumi in the Javidnameh, i.e., *Zindarud*, 'Living Stream', is an elegant allusion to his prophetic power."[169]

Leaving these two quick editions of the *Payam* aside, if we have a glance at its original hand-written script (still available in the Iqbal Museum), we will find a few brief poems and verses which were afterwards excluded in the printed text of the book by the poet himself. For example, a doubled-versed poem "Ghalib and Goethe" was left out and used only Ghalib's verse in a different poetic set-up. It is worth-mentioning here that on the same page another poem "Taqseem-i-Azal" (Division of Eternity) with an explanatory note by Iqbal's pen "suggested by Schiller's 'Die Teilung des Erde (?)', was also excluded. Likewise, another poem in an array of reputed poets of the Orient and the Occident (Browning, Byron, Ghalib and Rumi) Goethe was also standing but excluded him while he was preparing the final script of this book.

Apart from these appreciative remarks, poetic adaptations and free translations, we can hardly find any conceptual and textual similarity between *Payam* and *Divan*. As their titles indicate that Goethe primarily intended for a melange between the East and the West, while Iqbal's intention was to convey a message for the West, highly loaded with his peculiar philosophical and political thoughts. From a cursory look at these two works, it seems that Goethe invites the Eastern readers with a smiling face and, on the contrary, Iqbal addresses the West with a frown. One can presume that Iqbal has used the name of Goethe in the sub-title of *Payam* as a vehicle of his specific thoughts about the West, with the interpolations of some poetic adaptations, largely based on the previous studies of his European stay. Notwithstanding, Iqbal is the

first Oriental poet who has introduced Goethe's thoughts to the readers and from the entire corpus of his writings Iqbal picked up such things which were in harmony with his own religious concepts and cultural milieu.

Payam was warmly welcomed, not only by the literati but by the common readers, and within a few months its two editions, both original and revised, appeared. Widely reviewed in the literary journals and newspapers of India,[170] Iqbal was keen to get it published in Germany or translated in her language.[171] He corresponded with some European orientalists[172] and asked for their comments. As a response to Goethe he was naturally more interested in introducing it to the German scholars of oriental studies.[173] Among these eminent European savants, R. A. Nicholson (1868-1945) was the first in the West who recognised the real greatness of Iqbal[174] with whom he met in Cambridge and was deeply impressed by his dynamic personality and philological concepts. Afterwards they kept in touch through correspondence and on receiving *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), the first Persian book of Iqbal, he was eager to translate it with a view to elucidating the theories adumbrated in this poem, which he did in 1920 under the title *The Secrets of the Self.*[175] Having discordant views about Iqbal's critical approach to the Western civilisation,[176] he was profoundly influenced by Iqbal's religious and political philosophy.

Nicholson received both editions of *Payam*, first the original and then the revised edition. He responded at once and considered it a commendable response to Goethe's *Divan.*[177] As informed by Iqbal, he intended to translate it into English but could not do it and remained content only to contribute a comprehensive review, based on the second edition that was published in the first volume of a journal *Islamica* (Leipzig 1925) under the editorship of renowned

German orientalist, August Fischer (1865-1949), who also came in contact with Iqbal later on.[178] In fact, this review pioneered in introducing Iqbal to the learned community of Germany, particularly those who were more interested in the influences exerted by the rich literary traditions of the Islamic Orient on the German literature with special reference to Goethe. Their appreciation was natural, as Iqbal is the first poet belonging to the Orient, who was conscious of the heights of Goethe's imaginative powers and tried to follow him on the track of his creative powers. For such German poets and scholars, Nicholson's review proved to be a fresh breeze from the Oriental window and they got a new impetus for their poetry and relevant subjects.[179] Even some Orientalists, whose domain of interest was Middle Eastern history and culture, turned to Iqbal's work and translated the whole text in German.[180]

This appreciation in the countries abroad, especially in Germany, was also echoed in the indigenous literary journals and widely-circulated newspapers and the learned reviewers had to write something about Goethe and his works.[181] Though their brief comments lacked the profundity of the authentic information and are based largely on the secondary English sources, but it happened for the first time in the intellectual history of this Subcontinent that Goethe appeared, rather brightly, on the literary horizon of this region and for it whole credit goes to Iqbal only,[182] as he is the first poet in the Oriental world who had a true and deep understanding of the poetry and thought of Goethe.[183]

Iqbal's contact with Goethe, commenced in the prime of his youth and intensified immensely during his sojourn in Germany, was consummated in the *Payam* that was primarily conceived on the pattern of Goethe's *Divan*. Afterwards, Iqbal never mentioned it in any of his writings

and composed not a single line, inspired by this collection of poetry. Though diminished, but his interest in Goethe lasted even upto the end of his creative life. One can easily infer from these occasional instances that Iqbal had deeply studied Goethe's life and some of its circumstantial aspects remained hovering over his mind. Besides his biographical knowledge, Iqbal was conscious about Goethe's endless imaginative powers and he always ranked him higher than himself.

Among Goethe's works, *Faust* is the only book that remained very close to Iqbal's mind and heart throughout his whole life, almost from the beginning upto the end of his poetical career. In the post-*Payam* period, Iqbal never responded to Goethe so openly and the latter almost disappeared from the horizon of his imagination. In *Reconstruction*, Goethe was not fortunate to find more space, once with reference to the legend of Fall of Man,[184] but it is vehemently argued that opening part of *Javidnameh* is reminiscent of "Prologue in Heaven" of *Faust*[185] whose setting implies that the life and fate of Faust are matters of universal significance, which will clarify the relationship of God and man, good and evil, existence and non-existence. Likewise, Iqbal's fascinating concept of Satan is considered to be a direct impact of Goethe's Mephistopheles, an outstanding character of *Faust*, having a distinctive trait of skepticism. As a representative of evil he can also be an unconscious force for good and, above all, in spite of making inadequate plans for the seduction of *Faust*, he was finally defeated by Love, a force which he never recognized or comprehended.[186] Iqbal's satanology is a confluence of various Islamic and Christian concepts of Satan and one of the rivulets, coming from the different directions, is Faust, one of whose characters, Mephistopheles, as the necessary element of activation in

life, is to be met with in Iqbal's colourful picture of Iblis.[187] It seems very strange that in his celestial journey of the planets under the guidance of Rumi, Iqbal meets personalities of world fame, belonging to the East and the West but in this galaxy of dignitaries we don't find Goethe who had been his source of inspiration for the last three decades. In the original plan of *Javidnameh*, Goethe was present among these celebrities but afterwards Iqbal dropped his name from the list and the reason of this exclusion is still unknown.[188]

Despite the major works of Goethe, some of his minor books, inspired Iqbal, directly or indirectly, and he followed their form as well as the content; for example the *Maximen* (as stated above) which contains the sum of his wisdom. Another little-known book is *Zahme Xenien* (1820-21, 1827), a collection of approximately four hundred distichs in which the pietists and sentimentalists were ridiculed and the pedants and pedagogues were lashed. The piercing wit and sarcasm of the epigrams made the bad contemporary writers personally aggrieved. Alongwith the aggressive satirical remarks, there are also admirable expressions of critical canons and philosophic ideas. Some Western critics are of the opinion that Iqbal imitated this pattern, especially at the end of *Bang-i-Dara* (1924).[189]

In the opening part of the *Payam*, Iqbal eulogised Goethe and signalised some distinctive attainments in comparison to his own. At the same time, when he was finalising the script of the *Payam*, he pointed out another very significant difference relating to their *Weltanschauung*. In one of his letters (dated 15 June, 1922), written to Ijaz Ahmad, son of his elder brother, he mentions that "The eminent prophetic German poet,

Goethe, after observing the spiritual unrest of the contemporary youngmen, delivered them this message:

Art still has truth
Take refuge there.

Now, the situation of the Islamic world is the same as that of Germany's during the period of Napoleon and my message for the young Muslims is the same as that of Goethe's. The only difference is that I have replaced 'Art' with 'Religion' and its reason is obvious. Art does give the satisfaction but not power. In religion, you will find both, satisfaction and power.[190]

Iqbal was captivated by Faust, as a leading character of Goethe's dramatic representation. As recorded by one of Iqbal's close friends who was travelling with him that during his sojourn in Bombay (5 January, 1929) he was invited to a lunch by Seth Hashim Ismail. His wife was an educated woman and had studied medicine in Germany for two years. After lunch, she sent a copy of Goethe's Faust to Iqbal, so that he could write any verse on it in his own handwriting. Iqbal wrote this Persian verse:

Kalam o Falsafa az Loḥ-i-Dil Farooshtam
Zameer-i-khuash kushadam ba-Nishtar-i Tahqeeq

(I wiped the stains of scholasticism and philosophy away from the slate of the heart; And wrapped mine real self off through the fleam of search after truth.)

and commented "This is the conclusion on which Faust should have reached but could not."[191] This brief remark reveals Iqbal's deep insight and penetrating study of Goethe's masterpiece, *Faust*.

Another brief remark, also made by one of his associates, informs us that about his Persian book *Zabur-i-Ajam*, Iqbal aspired that "I wish Goethe had read this

book."[192] Naturally, this was wishful thinking but it invites us to look for those motivations which forced Iqbal to have such a desire.

Following Ghalib, Iqbal composed the verses about some renowned English and Persian poets like Browning, Byron, Rumi and Ghalib. All these single verses were published in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Eng. tr., pp. 173-174), but the verse relating to Goethe was excluded and that is:

Ta Aab-o-Taab-i-Badah shwad Dil firoztar
Aab az Gohar bageeram wa dar Saghar afganam

Translation:

(Let the splendour of wine illuminate the heart
more and more
I melt the pearl and pour it into the goblet).
(cf. *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*, II, p, p. 237)

On March 22, 1832, weakened by a painful inflammation of the lungs, Goethe, the old man of 82, sat in an easy chair and stared into the darkening world. "More light!" he murmured. But the light could no longer reach him. As speech failed and his senses faded, he began to write with his forefinger on the quilt that covered his knees. Writing, he died.

These words of Goethe just before his demise were engrossed in Iqbal's mind and he used them in expressing or sharing the grief caused by the death of his dear ones. Emma Wegenast, a German lady with whom Iqbal often discussed Goethe, informed him about her father's death. He immediately replied (30 July 1913):

"You remember what Goethe said in the moment of his death---"More Light". Death opens up the way to more

light, and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth."[193]

After many years, on hearing the news of the death of Sir Thomas Arnold, his teacher and 'guru', Iqbal wrote to his wife (16 July, 1930):

"No doubt from our point of view his luminous flame of life is now extinguished, but it is my firm conviction that those who, like him, devote their life to love and service, death means 'more light.'"[194]

Iqbal was, no doubt, a born poet and his poetry was enriched by his extensive study of Islamic and Western philosophy, history and literature. Rarely it happens, particularly in the Islamic world, that a poet endowed with high literary attainments like Iqbal, has such a vast knowledge of East and West. From his youth, Iqbal was a serious reader of the books relating to the domain of his interests.

Iqbal was not a bibliophile but he constantly remained in touch with the new books, published either from India or abroad, and tried to get them, directly or indirectly. Gradually, his personal collection, though small but qualitatively very precious, was established.

Before his departure to Europe in 1905, Iqbal left behind his meagre collection of books (total number 23) in the ancestral residence of Sialkot[195] and most of them are related with the English poets of the nineteenth century.[196] Marginal notes on some of them, mostly prescribed for the courses, display his careful study of the poetic subtileties of the English poetry. Afterwards, the major part of his library was formed, comprising the books that he bought during his European travels or from other sources. Three years before his death in 1935, Iqbal fell ill and was not able to look after the books properly because of his rapidly-

decaying health. So, he bequeathed his personal collection to be donated to the Islamia College Library, Lahore (according to his will of 13th October 1935). After his death (1938), this collection was handed over to the College according to his bequest (total number of books 433) and it was placed there in a separate section, named "Iqbal Collection", which was later on (in 1954) shifted to the new premises of the College (Civil Lines). A small number of books was not transferred to the College and these are still available in the Iqbal Museum, Lahore.[197]

Iqbal Collection consists of books on varied subjects, mostly in which Iqbal was keenly interested, like philosophy and literature. Some books (about 45) contain very informative marginal notes which provide the original material for the evaluation of his diverse thoughts. In this Collection, a few titles relating to Goethe or Goethean studies are extant. Like some other titles, no marginal note has been written by Iqbal on these books. A list of such publications is given below:

a) *Goethes Faust*. Edited by Calvin Thomas. Part II. London: D. C. Heath & Co., undated (Preface, August 1897), pp. 457.

Introduction (v-lxxvi), Der Tragödie. Zweiter Theil in fünf Acten (pp. 1-337 in Gothic script). Notes (pp. 339-457).

b) *Faust*. Eine Tragoedie von Goethe. (Both parts), pp. 498. On the last page: Der Verlag Th. Knaur Nachf. in Berlin hat dieses Werk in der spamerschen Offizin in Leipzig herstellen lassen. Den Einband fertigte die Buchbinderei L. Sieke & Co. in Leipzig. 1929. (According to a note on fly-leaf (dated 21 June 1935), perhaps it was gifted to Iqbal by its owner, Maqbul Ahmad).

c) *Criticisms, Reflections and Maxims of Goethe*. Translated, with an Introduction by W. B. Rönnfeldt. London/New York: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., undated.

Introduction (ix-xxxiv), Goethe on Shakespeare (pp. 1-59), Goethe on Byron (pp. 63-78), Poetry and the Fine Arts (pp. 79-134), Reflections and Maxims on Life, Character, Art and Literature (Sprüche in Prosa) (pp. 135-261).198

d) *A History of German Literature*. As determined by social forces. By Kuno Francke. 7th ed., New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1907 (1896), pp. 595. Goethe and Schiller (pp. 335-398)

e) German for the English. No. 1: *First Reading Book*. Easy Poems with interlinear translations, and illustrated by Notes and Tables chiefly etymological. By A. Sonnenschein and J. S. Stallybrass. 3rd ed., London/Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1875, pp. 228.

Part III: Interlineal Translation and Notes (pp. 105-183); Der Erlkönig (Goethe), pp. 105-108; Der Pilgrim (Schiller), pp. 109-112; Das Schloss am Meere (Uhland), pp. 113-116; Mignon (Goethe), pp. 116-118; Rittter Toggenburg (Schiller), pp. 119-126; Sprüche (Goethe), pp. 127-130; Das Veilchen (Goethe, pp. 136-138; Der Sänger (Goethe), pp. 138-142; Aus Wilhelm Meister (Goethe), pp. 142-143; Die Bürgerschaft (Schiller), pp. 143-159; Der Handschuh (Schiller), pp. 143-159; Die Frösche (Goethe), pp. 166-167; Das Glück von Edenball (Uhland), pp. 167-172; Der Ring des Polykrates (Schiller), pp. 174-182.

f) Rudolf Steiner: *Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Schiller*. Zugleich eine Zugabe zu Goethes "Naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften' in K-rschners

Deutscher National-Literatur. Neue, um eine Vorrede und Schlussbemerkungen erweiterte Auflage. Stuttgart: Der Kommende Tag A.-G. Verlag; 1924 (1886), pp. 112 (-Philosophisch-anthroposophische Bibliothek).199

g) *The Prose Writings of Heinrich Heine*. Edited with an Introduction, by Havelock Ellis. London: The Walter Scott, no date, pp. 327. (For the introduction of the *Payam*, Iqbal has used some of the remarks of H. Heine about Goethe's *Divan*; see pp. 118-119 of this edition).[200]

Strangely enough, in the whole Iqbal Collection, presently housed both in Islamia College and Iqbal Museum, Goethe's *Divan* is not extant. It can be conjectured that he would have read it, in original or in English translation, while he was staying in Europe. During the composition of his response to *Divan* (e.g. *Payam*), he knew about the availability of its English translation, preserved in a local library.[201]

VI

It is said that the comparisons are odious. In various perspectives it is undeniable, but in some cases, particularly in the field of literature, the comparison is exceedingly instructive and cannot be regarded as odious. Such comparative study had been a most favourite subject for the Iqbalian scholars and they delved to unearth the poetical and philosophical coincidences, accidental or intentional, between Iqbal and Goethe. In addition to afore-mentioned poetical and conceptual similarities between them, some new fields of such comparative studies have been explored, indicating some other commonalities of their views, such as concepts of man and universe, preference of Love over

Intellect, praise of divine force of Love,[202] satanology,[203] conception of immortality,[204] concept of Mard-i-Momin[205] or Superman.[206] In view of all these ideological analogies, most of the undiscerning admirers of Iqbal anchored their discussion that, if minutely studied, more new avenues can be opened that would help them to write a comprehensive book on this topic which is yet to be written.[207]

Iqbal's profound admiration for Goethe lasted about four decades and this persistent intellectual relationship had to go through different phases, resulted by his gradual developing poetic outlook and philosophical thought. Firstly, Goethe as a lyric poet attracted Iqbal before he embarked for his European journey in his youth (1905). Afterwards, having learnt German, Goethe's leading works, particularly his *Faust*, became extant to Iqbal. Various environmental factors of the cities like Heidelberg and Munich and the new acquaintances of both sexes created a romantic aura around him that intensified his interest in Goethe's lyrical poetry. The third and most significant period of Iqbal's reverence for Goethe commenced a few years after his return from Europe. Meanwhile, his mind and soul had to go through some deep experiences that changed his poetic vision, philosophical approaches and the general world-view. He severely criticised the political, social and cultural values of the West but his attitude towards the Western literary traditions remained unchanged. For this reason, Iqbal's appreciation of Goethe's poetic genius continued and ultimately it manifested in his *Payam-i-Mashriq* in which he attempted to follow the poetic style of Goethe's *Divan*. Furthermore, Goethe was inspired by Hafiz when he read German renderings of his Persian poetry (by Hammer-Purgstall). Iqbal, too, was a great admirer of Hafiz as a poet and in spite of his critical remarks about the soothing effects of his

poetry, he never escaped himself from the poetic diction of this great Persian poet. For both Iqbal and Goethe, Hafiz was a source of their romantic imaginative abilities and creative diction; Goethe considered him as his twin-brother, whereas Iqbal thought of indwelling of Hafiz' soul in his body.

Apart from Iqbal's critical appreciation of Hafiz, he was conversant with Goethe's interest in the literary treasures of the Islamic Orient and their varied influences on his creative mind. But what brought Iqbal closer to Goethe was his most sympathetic and intellectually balanced attitude towarrds Qur'an,[208] the Holy Prophet[209] and Islam in general.[210] Goethe was aware of the positive role played by Islam in the history of mankind. Islam and the personality of the Holy Prophet, as portrayed in the European writings of the nineteenth century, were largely biased and antagonistic: a Western attitude inherited from the medeieval concept of Islam. Contrary to such prevalent hostile and partial approaches to Muslim's faith, Goethe, as a great creative genius and an exponent of World Literature, studied Qur'an and the life of the Holy Prophet, through German translations, and expressed the views that were not repugnant to the basic concepts of Islam. Unmindful of the contemporary conflicting writings about Islam, Goethe's projected drama about Muhammad was "a counterweight to Voltaire's rather satirical picturue of the Prophet of Islam."[211] For this reason, Iqbal warmly welcomed Goethe, poetically and intellectually, and payed homage to him by adapting his Ode to the Holy Prophet ("Mahomets Gesang") in the Persian book, *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

Iqbal's admiration for Goethe never ceased and it continued upto the end of his life. He frequently conversed about Goethe with his close associates and loved to narrate

the biographical incidents of this great German poet to his correspondents. *Faust* remained dear to him throughout his life and he knew about all its poetical allusions and stylistic intricacies which could be easily solved by any Eastern reader, as expressed by him in one of his letters to an intimate friend.[212] Iqbal was keen to assist the persons who intended to study Goethe in detail[213] or to translate *Faust* in Urdu.[214] The first Urdu translations of *Faust*[215] *and Die Leiden des yungen Werther*[216] ("Sorrows of the Young Werther") came out with his consent and helped the translators in providing the relevant information about their understaking. In this way, Iqbal tried to foster literary and scholarly interest in Goethe to the next generation. Inspired by Iqbal's reverence for Goethe, as a gifted poet and a lover of Orientalism, some amateurs of his time devoted themselves to follow his footsteps and they have tremendously contributed in enriching the tradition of Goethean studies in Urdu literature.

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Notes and References

1. *Literary Lectures*. Presented at the Library of Congress, Washington: Library of Congress 1973, p. 87. "Goethe and Democracy" by Thomas Mann, pp. 87-108. *Essays of Thomas Mann*. Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Vitage Books, 1957 (including the articles on Goethe).

2. Karl Goedeke : *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*. 3rd ed., continued by Edmund Goetze. vol. 4, pts. 2-4. *Goethe Literatur*, compiled by Karl Kipka. Dresden 1910-1913, pp. 748; xvi, 826; iv, 321. Supplement to the 3rd ed., vol. 4, pt. 5. Carl Diesch and Paul Schlager: *Goethe-Bibliographie* 1912-1950. Ed. by Herbert Jacob. Berlin 1960, pp. iv, 997.

3. Heinrich Düntzer: *Zur Goethe's Jübelfeier Studien, zu Goethe's Werken*. Elberfeld, 1849; Goethe. *Études publiées pour le centenaire de sa mort*. Paris 1932; *Goethe centenary papers*. Edited by Martin Schütze. Chicago 1933; *Festschrift zum 200. Geburtstag Goethes*. Hrsg. von Eduard Castle, Wien 1949 (*Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins*, 52/53, pp 74-80); 1749-1949. *Das Goethe-Jahr. The Goethe Year*. Part 1-12, London 1949; J. R. Becher: *Der Befreier. Rede zur zweihundertsen Wiederkehr des Geburtstages von ....Goethe*. Berlin (Ost) 1949; *Goethe bicentennial studies*. Edited by Hubert Joseph Meessen. Bloomington (Indiana) 1950; *Kolloquium über Probleme der Goetheforschung. 31. Oktober bis 4. November 1960 in Weimar*. Vorträge und Diskussionen. Weimar 1960 (Weimarer Beiträge. Sonderheft 1960, pp. 917-1292).

4. "Er ist nächst dem 'Faust' das bedeutendste und zugleich persänlichkeit Werk des Dichters, aber der Nation ist er kein vertrauter Besitz." (Goethe: *West-östlicher Divan*. Hrsg. und erl. von Ernst Beutler. Bremen 1956. Vorwort, p. ix)

5. See *Vorspiel*, Bd. II, Halle 1926, pp. 282-324, 375-401; *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des West-östlichen Divan*. Berlin (East): Akademie Verlag, 1955.

6. *Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1938; "Der Osten im West-östlichen Divan" (In: *Goethe. West-östlichen*

Divan. Hrsg. von E. Beutler, unter Mitwirkung von H.H. Schaeder. Leipzig: Dietrich 1948 (1943), pp. 787-835).

7. *Goethes Noten und Abhandlungrn zum West-östlichen Divan.* Hamburg, New York: Augustin, 1958; "Oriental Types of Literary Composition as described by Goethe", (in: *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 10 (1961), pp. 59-61. (see also *Bio-Bibliographies des 134 Savants*. Leiden: Brill 1979, pp. 336-337).

8. *West-östlicher Divan*. Hrsg. u. erl., Bremen 1956.

9. *Goethe und der Islam*. Stuttgart 1964; *Goethe und die arabische Welt*. Frankfurt/M.: Insel, 1988.

10. See, Leo Deutschlander: *Goethe und der Alte Testament.* Frankfurt/M. 1923; Hans von Schubert: *Goethes religiöse Jugenentwicklung*. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1925; Gertrud Janzer: *Goethe und die Bibel*, Leipzig 1929; Erich Franz: *Goethe als religiöser Denker*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1932; Arnold Bergstrasser: "Goethe's view of Christ" (*Modern Philology*, XLVI (Feb. 1949), pp. 172-202); Peter Meinhold: "Die Konfessionen im Urteil Goethes" (*Saeculum*, Bd. 7, Jg. 1956, pp. 79-106). (Discusses Goethe's attitude towards Christian confessions and sects. Deals also with his interest in the Hypsistarians, a syncretistic sect of Asia Minor in the 4th century A.D.); *Encylcopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Ed. by James Hastings, vol. vi, Edinburgh 1937, pp. 306-310, article by James Lindsay; *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Bd. II, Tübingen: Mohr, 1958, cols. 1668-1675, art. by F. Götting; Luz-Maria Linder: *Goethes Bibelrezeption*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1998.

11. Goethe remained strict to this concept of world literature almost upto the end of his creative life. At the age of seventy-eight, he said to Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854), his secretary after 1823:

    "If we Germans do not look outside of the narrow circle of our own environment, we fall an easy prey to pedantic conceit. For that reason I like to look around in foreign nations, and I advise everyone else to do the same. National literature is of little consequence now, the epoch of world literature is at hand and everyone must do his share to hasten the arrival of this epoch."

(*Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*. Translated by John Oxenford. London: Bell, 1879).

12. Fritz Strich: *Goethe und der Weltliteratur*. Bern: Francke, 1946 (Eng. tr. by C.A.M. Sym: *Goethe and World Literature*. London: Routledge 1949); W.E. Mühlmann: *Pfade in die Weltliteratur*. Königstein: Athenäum, 1984, esp. "Aufbruch nach Osten: Goethe...Künftiger *Divan*.--Rückert usw.," pp. 103-138; Hans Joachim Schrimpf: *Goethes Begriff der Weltliteratur*; Essay. Stuttgart 1968.

    Literature seemed to Goethe a world tapestry, woven from threads of different origin and spread over all nations as a joint creation of the humanist spirit.

    The Romantic Movement in Europe began in the later years of the eighteenth century and its objective was to dominate literature and thought during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Movement was characterized by the intense assertion of freedom and imagination, by the glorification of individualism, and by a melancholy and sentimental oversensitivity.

    An extreme form of this Movement known as *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) existed in Germany for several decades and found expression in a great outburst of literary activity. It was marked by a general mood of rebellion against convention and constraint of all kinds, by impetuosity and a strong belief in the validity of natural emotions and feelings. In his youth, Goethe was hailed as the leader of this movement.

13. Cf. *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Frederick von Schlegel (1772-1829)*. Translated from the German by E.J. Millington. London 1849, "On the Indian Language, Literature and Philosophy" (pp. 425-526). The original German was published from Heidelberg and is considered to be the first attempt at Indo-Germanic linguistics and the study of Indian languages and comparative philology.

14. In another book, Goethe remarked: "In *Sakontala* the poet appears in his highest functions. As the representative of the most natural condition of things, the finest mood of life, the purest moral endeavour, the worthiest majesty, and the most solemn worship, he ventures on common and ridiculous contrasts." (*The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*. Translated by Bailey Saunders Bell. London: Rodwell 1893, p. 169).

Goethe read the English translation of *Sakuntala* by Sir William Jones (Calcutta 1789); See *Noten und Abhandlungen*, in: *Goethe's sämtliche Werke*. Bd. IV, Stuttgart 1857, pp. 326-327. For further details see, Garland Cannon and Kerin R. Brine (eds.): *Objects of Enquiry*. The life, contributions, and influence of Sir William Jones (1746-1794). New York, London: New York Press, 1995. (Winfred P. Lehmann: "The impact of Jones in German-speaking areas", pp. 131-140, esp. p. 134); Michael F. Franklin: *Sir William Jones*. (Writers of Wales). Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995; Ibid. (ed.): *Sir William Jones*: selected poetical and prose works. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vols. 54-55 (1994-1995). Sir William Jones volume commemorating the bicentenary of his death. Pune: Deccan College, 1996. See also No. 67-72.

15. A. Gillies: "Herder and the preparation of Goethe's idea of Weltliteratur" (in: *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, N.S., vol. ix, 1933); *Herders Sämtliche Werke*. Hrsg. von Bernhard Suphan. Berlin 1877 ff., Bd. 14: "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit": 19 Buch, Kap. 4: "Reiche der Araber", pp. 425-428. Bd. 24, 356; *Adrastea* VII. 8. Aufsatz: "Morgenländische Literatur". *Herders Werke*. Hrsg. von Heinrich Kurz. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Bd. I, Leipzig-Wien: Bibliographisches Institut. "Nach morgenländischen Dichtern" (pp. 259-261).

Herder, as a scholar, was one of the most advanced minds of the period and may be regarded as a real theoretician of the spirial reorientation which laid the basis for German classical literature.

He stayed in Strasburg from September 1770 to April 1771, and during this time, he made Goethe really appreciate Homer, Shakespeare, the Old Testament and folk songs, for the first time. He interpreted poetry as the mother tongue of the human race, and in this way helped to liberate the poetic feelings of Goethe who wrote in "Poetry and Truth" (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*):

"The most significant event, which was to have the weightiest consequences for me, was my acquaintance and later my close association with Herder."

Herbert Lindtner: *Das Problem des Spinozismus im Schaffen Goethes und Herders*, Weimar 1960.

16. For example Jean Chardin, Pietro della Vida, Anquetil du Perron, Robert Knox, John de Ma(u)ndeville, Marco Polo, Tavernier and E.S. Waring.

17. "Ich möchte beten, wie Moses im Koran: Herr, mache mir Raum in der engen Brust."

18. *Alcorani....* 1698, 1721; see A. Nallino: "Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludvico Marracci sul Corano" (in: *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, VI and VII (1931), pp. 303-349).

19. *Die türkische Bibel, oder des Korans allererste teutsche Übersetzung aus der arabischen Urschrift*...Frankfurt am Mayn, 1772.

About this translation Goethe remarks:

"Diese elende Produktion wird kürzer abgefertigt. Wir wünschten, dass einmal eine andere unter morgenländischem von einem Deutschen verfertigt würde, der mit allem Dichter-und Prophetengefühle in seinem Zelte den Koran läse, und Ahndungsgeist genug hätte, das Ganze zu umfassen." (in: *Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen*, 22 December, 1772. pp. 146-147).

20. *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammad*, 1734.

Goethe writes: "Denn was ist jetzo Sale für uns?" (in: Ibid.; see also Goethe: *Jugendwerke*, Bd. 3, hrsg. von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin 1956).

21. See for details, Katharina Mommsen: "Die Bedeutung des Korans für Goethe (von Götz bis zum Buch des Paradieses)". (In: *Goethe und die Tradition*. Hrsg. von Hans Reiss. Frankfurt a.M. 1972, pp. 138-162); *Goethe Lexikon*. Hrsg. von Gero von Wilpert. Stuttgart 1998, s.v. Koran.

According to Iqbal, "The main purpose of the Qur'an is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. It is in view of this essential aspect of the Quranic teaching that Goethe, while making a general review of Islam as an educational force, said to Eckermann: "You see this teaching never fails; with all our systems, we cannot go, and generally speaking no man can go, farther than that.""

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture 1989, p.7)

Once Iqbal conversed: "In a book it is written about Goethe, the famous German poet, that after reading the Qur'an in German translation he said to some of his friends that when I read this Book, my soul starts trembling in my body."

(cf. Ruzgar-i-Faqir. By Faqir Waheed-ud-Din. Rep. Lahore 1987, vol. I, p. 22)

22. *Memoirs of Goethe, written by himself.* London: Henry Colburn. vol. II, 1824, pp. 112-116.

23. First published in *Musenalmanach* (Göttingen) of the year 1774 (pp. 15-24); see for details Max Morris : *Der junge Goethe*. Bd. 3, Leipzig 1910; Gottfried Fittbogen: *Die sprachliche und metrische Form der Hymnen Goethes*. Halle : Niemeyer 1909; Oscar Fambach: *Goethe und seine Kritiker*. Düsseldorf: Ehlermann, 1953, pp. 134-147; Gero von Wilpert, op. cit., p. 662. For the German text of the poem, see *Goethe. Selected Poems*. Edited by Barker Fairley. London: Heinemann 1981 (1954), pp. 9-11.

    According to Goethe: "I had composed several songs which I intended to introduce into my piece. Only one of these remains in the collection of my poems, under the title of *The Song of Mahomet*. My intention was that Ali should recite this song in honour of his master at the height of his prosperity, and shortly before the catastrophe produced by the poison. I recollect this intention of introducing some other fragments; but longer details would carry me too far." (*Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 115-116)

24. Ingeborg. H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahomets' Gesang" bei Goethes Zeitgenossen und in der modernen persischen Adaption Muhammad Iqbal (1923)."

    (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, Bd. 100 (Weimar 1983), pp. 111-126, esp. p. 113, f. n. 5, 6).

25. Voltaire: *Le fanaticisme ou Mahomet le prophète.*(1741), Paris 1742. Goethe has mentioned it in a letter (dated 23 November 1765) to his sister, Cornelia. Goethe translated it during 29th September to 17th November 1799 under the heading "Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Voltaire." (Tübingen 1802). E. Fluegel: *Mahomets Gesang*. 1882. See for details, T. Graul:

Goethes Mahomet und Tankred. Diss. Berlin 1914; R. Kilchenmann: "Goethes Übersetzung der Voltairedramen Mahomet und Tancred" (*Comparative Literature*, vol. 14, 1962); Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und die arabische Welt*. 1988 (Übersetzung von Voltaires "Mahomet"); I. H. Solbrig: "The theatre, theory and politics" (*Michigan Germanic Studies*. vol. 16, 1990); J.v. Stackelberg: "Ein Mahomet aus Fleisch und Blut." (*Colloquium Helveticum*. vol. 18, 1993).

26. On Goethe's studies about Muhammad, see Jakob Minor: *Goethes Mahomet. Ein Vortrag*. Jena: Diederich, 1907).

    (In five chapters of this book, the author deals with the early studies, mostly offensive, on the life and teachings of the Holy Prophet, Goethe's "Frankfurther Fragmente" (*Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen*), Voltaire's drama, the details of Goethe's plan of 'Mahomet' taken from his *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and finally the period in which the *Divan* was written).

    For further information on the subject see, Franz Saran: *Goethes Mahomet und Prometheus*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1914; R. Petsch: "Zu Goethes Mahomet" (*Zeitschrift für deutschen Unterricht*, Bd. 29, 1915); E. Staiger: "Goethes Mahomet" (Trivium, 7, 1949); Katharina Mommsen: *Im Islam leben und sterben wir alle. Goethes Verhältnis zum muslimischen Religion und ihrem Stifter*. Berlin 1982.

    Goethe, in his autobiography (under 1815), refers a book 'Mohamed' by Oelsener" with whom I had long stood on terms of friendship, again to my assistance." (cf. Goethe: *The Autobiography of Goethe*. Truth and Poetry. From my own life. Books XIV-XXX. Together with his *Annals*, or, Day and Year Papers, translated from the German. London: Georg Bell, 1884, p. 417).

27. *Noten* (*Goethes sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart 1857), Bd. IV, pp. 218-221.

28. K. Mommsen: "Goethes Bild vom Orient." (in: *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies*. Hrsg. von W. Hoenerbach. Wiesbaden 1967, p. 455)

29. K. Mommsen: *Goethe und 1001 Nacht*. Berlin (Ost): Akademie Verlag, 1960. In 1802 Goethe informs Schiller that he has read the *Arabian Nights*.

30. Ibid.: *Goethe und die Mo'allakat*. 2 Aufl. Berlin (Ost): Akademie Verlag, 1961.

    Mu'allaqat (suspended poems), the masterpieces of the pre-Islamic poet Ta'abbata Sharran, had been done into German by Goethe, who used an earlier Latin version.

31. Johann Fück: *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955, pp. 158-166. For his life and works, see my *Hammer-Purgstall and the Muslim India*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1998, pp. 10-11, 25-26 (Note 8).

32. Vienna. 6 vols. (1809-1818), pp. 22 ä 2255

    Goethe obtained the early volumes of *Fundgruben* from Clemens Wenzel von Metternich-Winneburg (1773-1859), an Austrian diplomat and statesman. (cf. Ingeborg H. Solbrig: *Hammer-Purgstall und Goethe. "Dem Zaubermeister das Werkzeug."* Berlin, Frankfurt a.M.: Lang 1973, p. 251).

33. He met Goethe in Karlsbad. (See Tagebuch, III, 136f.)

34. M. Rodinson: *La fascination de l'Islam*, Paris 1980, p. 80 (paperback)

35. *Explanatory English Translation of the Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*. By Dr. Muhammad Taqui-ud-Din al-Hilali and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Ankara, 1978, p. 21.

36. *West-Eastern Divan* (with two other books). Translated by Alexander Rogers. London: Georg Bell, 1890, p. 203. *Talismans*, "Book of the Singer".

37. "Diese Zeitschrift soll Alles umfassen, was nur immer aus dem Morgenlande kömmt oder auf dasselbe Bezug hat...; in dem die Bekanntschaft mit den gangbarsten Sprachen Europa's bey dem Liebhaber der orientalischen vorausgesetzt werden muss." (vol. 1, 1809, pp. I-II).

38. *Annals*, op. cit., p. 427

39. See Ingeborg H. Solbrig: *Hammer Purgstall*, op. cit., "Die Fundgruben des Orients als Quellen zum West-östlicher Divan,", pp. 192-220.

40. *Fundgruben*, vols. II, pp. 359-374; III, pp. 21-40; VI, pp. 221-239.

He was the Professor of the Oriental languages in the University of Jena and founded the historical and critical study of the Old Testament and the New Testament. He is the editor of a voluminous book *Repertorium der biblishcen und morgenländischen Literatur*. 18 vols. (1777-1786) and the author of *Allgemeine Geschichte der Kultur und Literatur*..., 1799-1814. It is clear from *Noten* (op. cit., 1857, pp. 203, 297, 316-317) that Goethe held him in great esteeem. See also Hermann Hüffner: "Goethe und Johann Gottfried Eichhorn". (*Goethe Jahrbuch* 3 (1883), pp. 343-345). Seel also Note 73-74.

41. He served as a Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Jena. He provided some information to Goethe. (See *Noten*, op. cit., 1857, p. 217)

42. He was the son of the poet Ludwig Gotthard Kosegarten (1758-1818), a pupil of Silvestre de Sacy in Paris (1812-1814) and succeeded Lorsbach at Jena in 1817-1824. After 1824 he was a professor in Greifswald. Goethe recommended his appointment to the chair in Oriental languages at Jena, and he sought his advice very often when writing Noten (op. cit., 1857, pp. 327, 334). The lines of Arabic in the dedication of the *Divan* to Silvestre de Sacy were by Kosegarten, who gave de Sacy the copy with the Arabic lines and Goethe's complimentary letter. Goethe was of great help to Kosegarten, frequently supplying him with Oriental texts that were difficult to get. He also had other links with Kosegarten, standing godfather to one of his children and writing an epitaph for the tomb of the elder Kosegarten.

    See, Otto Jahn: "Goethe und Kosegarten", in: *Die Grenzboten* 27 (1868); Erich Gülzow: "Goethe und die beiden 'Kosegarten", in: *Unser Pommerland* 17 (1932), pp. 11-13.

43. *Fundgruben*, vol. I, pp. 397-399. He was charge d'affaires in Constantinople and in 1786 was ennobled and appointed ambassador to this city. After 1807 he lived the life of a landed proprietor in Berlin, dedicated to his Oriental studies. His collection of rare manuscripts and books is now housed in the Oriental section of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

    Diez was an early contributor to the *Fundgruben*. With his satirical book *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Literatur* (1815), there came a rift between Diez and Hammer.

Afterwards, the situation became worst and Hammer lost his seat in the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, but during this dispute Goethe remained neutral.

See *Noten* (op. cit., 1857, pp. 317-322); *Annals*, op. cit., p. 417 (under 1815); Carl Siegfried: "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Diez" (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, II (1890), pp. 24-41); Franz Babinger: "Ein orientalischer Berater Goethes :Heinrich Friedrich von Diez" (Goethe Jahrbuch, 34 (1913), pp. 83-100); Ibid.: "Der Einfluss von Hch. Frd. von Diezens "Buch des Kabus" und "Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien "auf Goethes "West-östlicher Divan" (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 5 (1913), pp. 577-592); Curt Balcke: "Neues über "Goethes orientalischen Berater". (*ZDMG*, Bd. 84, Leipzig 1930, 74-77, with a photograph of Diez's grave in Berlin (Domfriedhof)); Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und Diez. Quellenuntersuchungen zu Gedichten der Divan -Epoche*. Berlin (Ost): Akademie Verlag, 1961, 2nd rev. ed. Bern-Wien: Lang, 1995.

44. *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-Din Hafis*. Aus dem Persischen zum erstenmal ganz übersetzt. 2 Teile. Tübingen: Cotta, 1812 and 1813 (actually published in 1814). Reprinted; Hildesheim, New York: Olms Verlag, 1973.

45. Ibid., Vorwort, p. III.

46. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben 1774-1852*. Bearbeitet von R. Bachofen von Echt. Wien 1940.

In the Foreword of this autobiography (p. III), Hammer-Purgstall tells us that the German translation of Hafiz was begun in 1799 during his stay in Constantinople and ended in 1806. (cf. Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Entstehung und Drucklegung der Hafiz-Übersetzung Joseph von Hammers," in: *Studi germanici*, n. s. 10, no. 2 (1972), pp. 393-403).

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Hafiz attracted some European scholars and they translated his lyrical poetry in their languages. In this respect, Sir William Jones took the initiative and appended to his French translation of the *History of Nadir Shah* (Persian) an essay on Oriental poetry and thirteen versions of Hafiz in accomplished French verse were given (1773; for one specimen see, A. J. Arberry: *Classical Persian Literature*. London 1958). His *Poeseos Asiaticae* and *Persian Song* (1772, the famous paraphrase of Hafiz, see *Persian Poems*. By A. J. Arberry,

London 1954) devoted considerable space to Hafiz. In 1768, Jones became acquainted with Count Karl Emerich Rewitzky, an Austrian diplomat in London, who was at that time preparing an edition and Latin translation of selected lyrics from Hafiz. He was pleased to be able to consult the advice of his erudite young colleague. He left England toward the end of 1768, but they remained in correspondence until 1789. (See Rewitzky's *Specimen Poeseos Persicae*. Wien 1771, contains 16 ghazals of Hafiz in Persian and Latin translation with added commentaries to these poems by Sudi, cf. Fück, op. cit., p. 131). Soon J. Richardson translated and paraphrased these 16 ghazals from Rewitzky's Specimen (see his *Specimen of Persian Poetry*. London 1774). For a few other translations of Hafiz upto 1800 see, John Nott: *Kitab-e-lalezar az Divan -e-Hafiz*. London 1787 (17 odes from Hafiz, rendered into English verse); John Haddon Hindley: *Persian lyrics, or scattered poems from the Divan-i-Hafiz with paraphrases*. (Persian and English, 11 odes). London 1800.

All these early vestiges of Hafiz in European countries might have encouraged Hammer to undertake the translation of the whole '*Divan*' in German. Presumably, Goethe also would have taken interest in Hafiz, as in those years his creative leanings to the Orient started.

Another significant point deserves more attention and that is Hammer's meeting with Abu Talib Khan (d. 1806), one of the earliest Indian travellers of Europe, who met Hammer-Purgstall in Constantinople, probably in 1802. Before embarking on his journey, he published the Persian text of Diwan-i-Hafiz from Calcutta in 1791, obviously initiated by Jones, and it can be conjectured that he might have mentioned this edition to Hammer-Purgstall who was at that time preparing its German translation, (see, my *Hammer-Purgstall and the Muslim India*. Lahore 1998, p. 13)

47. Goethe writes in his personal diary:

"...the whole [Gr. tr. of Hafiz] now produced all the greater impression on me, and I found myself urgently impelled to productive efforts in order to assert my own genius in conflict with this new mighty force. The German translation unsluiced the full tide of its influence on me, and everything of kindred sense latent in me started up in emphatic response, and with all the

greater impetuosity that it had now become a poignant necessity for me to fly the actual world escape into an ideal world more comfortable with my taste, capacity and will." (*Annals*, 1884, op. cit., p. 417; Goethe: *Annalen oder Tag-und Jahreshaften als Ergänzungen meiner sonstigen Bekenntnisse*, completed 1824, published 1830). He continues: "Von Hammer's translation being daily in my hands, and becoming indeed, for me the book of books, I did not fail to pick many a jewel out of its treasures." (Annals, op. cit., pp. 417-418).

And in Noten he writes:

"Endlich aber, als mir, im Frühling 1813, die vollständige Uebersetzung aller seiner Werke zukam, ergriff ich mit besonderer Vorliebe sein inneres Wesen, und suchte mich durch eigene Production mit ihm in Verhältniss zu setzen." ("Von Hammer", op. cit., 1857, p. 323.)

48. The opening poem of the *Divan* "Hegire" (Flight) clearly indicates his intention of taking a spiritual and mental journey from the political chaos of Europe to the tranquil rest of the East. The poem starts:

North and South and West are crumbling,
Thrones are falling, kingdoms trembling:
Come, flee away to purer East,
There on patriarch's air to feast;
There with love and drink and song
Khiser's spring shall make thee young.
(Rogers' tr., op. cit., p. 199)

49. *Noten* is called the *chef-d'oeuvre* of early European Oriental work. The major part of it deals exclusively with Persian literature, while the rest of the book is also closely linked with the problems of Persian literature. Goethe shows in it an understanding of the concept of Oriental literature that is close in many ways to the modern outlook.

For the other details about *Divan* and Noten, see *Goethe-Lexikon*, op. cit., pp. 773-774.

50. Some of the biographers of Goethe like G.H. Lewes differs and expressed their opinion that the *Noten* "show indeed a conscientious study of the East, but which also show how immeasurably inferior he was in prose to poetry. Age is visible in

every page." (Lewes: *The Life and Works of Goethe*. London/New York 1949 (1853). Everyman's Library No. 269, p. 540)

For *Noten*, Goethe has used some of other Hammer's works as his basic sources, such as *Geschichte des schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Wien, 1818; largely based on Daulatshah's *Tazkirat ush-Shu'ara*) which he frequently referred in his *Tagebuch* (from 27 July to 17 September 1818, under the different titles). Most of the biographical information about some Persian poets (especially Hafiz and Rumi) has been taken from it. (Cf. H. H. Schaeder: "The islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung", *ZDMG*. Neue Folge 4 (Bd. 79) Leipzig 1925, p. 260); Solbrig: *Hammer-Purgstall*, op. cit., pp. 165-191; Karl Putz: "Joseph von Hammers Geschichte der persischen Redekünste" (in: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, 14 (1901), pp. 430-471). Hammer's *Morgenländische Kleeblatt* (Wien 1819) is another book that has provided the relevant information to Goethe. (see Solbrig, op. cit., pp. 221-252).

Except Hammer, some other prominent Austrian scholars, litterateurs and personalities from the different walks of life have deeply influenced Goethe's life and works. Josef Nadler, an authority on German and Austrian literature, has indicated all such influences in detail in his excellent book entitled Goethe und österreich. Königsberg-Weimar-Wien. Ein Fragment. Wien 1966 (österreich Reihe 298/300).

51. Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866): *Östliche Rosen; Drei Lesen*. Leipzig 1822.

52. Count Platen (1796-1835): *Spiegel das Hafis*. 1821.

53. Friedrich von Bodenstedt (1819-1892): *Der Sänger von Schiras. Hafisische Lieder*. Berlin 1877.

54. In his diary, Goethe has mentioned the *Divan*. The concerned passages are as follows:

"If I am to call to mind my own works, I have first of all to mention the *Divan*. It was always attaining more fullness and definiteness of form, some of it being intended for the *Ladies' Calendar*." (*Annals*, op. cit., p. 427, under the year 1816).

Afterwards he referred some of the studies of Hammer, von Diez etc. which "appeared to me, however, particularly valuable, and,

in accordance with my nature, which involuntarily demanded a reconstruction of any important subject which engaged my mind, I designed an Eastern opera, and began to work at it. It would, too, have attained completion, the conception being really vital in me for a length of time, had there been a musician at my side and a large public before me, so that I should have been spurred to meet the capacities and accomplishments of the former and the taste and demands of the latter." (Ibid.)

Under the year 1818, he states:

"Throughout the winter the *Divan* had continued to be cherished and nursed with so much affection, love and passion, that by the month of March I no longer hesitated about sending it to press. Not that I then broke off my studies on this subject, for I continued writing notes and detached papers in the hope that they would contribute to a better understanding of the matter. I was, of course, quite prepared to see the German stop short in perplexity when a phenomenon out of an entirely different world was precipitated on his notice. The trial, too, in the *Ladies' Calendar*, had embarrassed rather than assisted the public. The uncertainty as to whether the foreign arrival was a translation, an imitation, or a representation, did the enterprise no good. I did not, however, think it proper to enlighten them on this point. I was accustomed to seeing the German public eyeing a strange dish auspiciously before they would fall to and partake."

(Ibid., p. 445.)

In 1827, when Goethe had heard some of his *Divan* lyrics sung, he declared to Eckermann that he had noticed that evening that the lyrics of the *Divan* had ceased to bear any relation to him. What was oriental in them no longer lived on in him. It lay like a sloughed snakeskin beside his pathway.

Some contemporary sources provide useful information about *Divan* :

"Recollections of Arthur Schopenhauer "(under 1814)

[After referring the German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz*]. "By way of these versions, "Goethe wrote, "I seemed with a special predilection to lay hold upon that poet's innermost character and sought to establish a relationship with him by inner productivity of my own." (cf. Goethe. *The Story of a Man*. Being the life of

Johann Wolfgang Goethe as told in his own words and the words of his contemporaries. By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York 1949, vol. II, p. 223.)

Goethe's letter to Christiane (Wiesbaden, May 31, 1815):

"....Perfect roses bloom, nightingales sing and so it's easy enough to imagine oneself in Shiraz. And so I have indeed fitted my recent poems into the larger form of *The West-Eastern Divan* and written a new table of contents."

(Ibid., II, p. 235)

Sulpiz Boisserée's (1783-1854) Diary (August 3, 1815)

"He's working at the *Divan*. Has absorbed much of the Oriental spirit. Napoleon and our period are rich in analogies to Timur, to Djengis-Khan, men like natural forces...

He read me his significant introduction, an exposition of the Oriental spirit and his own relationship to that spirit.... He assumes the name of Hafiz as his own in these poems..."

(Ibid., II, p. 237)

Ibid., (August 4, 1815)

"...After dinner he discussed the continuation of the *Divan*...All the splendour of the Orient has, in the end, nothing higher than the description of loving hearts. He spoke of the pride in their poverty taken by true lovers and read us many splendid and charming things. I told him that the *Divan* reminded me of Faust, by reason of its grandeur and boldness combined with naturalness and simplicity in the subject matter, as well as in form and diction. He accepted that appreciatively."

(Ibid., II, p. 238)

Ibid., (August 7, 1815):

"In the evening he read us from the *Divan* again. One of the loveliest of the poems was on Adam and Eve; how the Creator made them and look joy in them."

(Ibid., II, p. 239)

Letter to Carl Friedrich Zelter, 1758-1832 (October 25, 1815):

"Thus I am able to announce to you that many items have been added to the *Divan*, of which a number are quite recent and with the dew on them....Much that is singable is among these pieces, yet reflection is, upon the whole, predominant, as befits both their Oriental character and the age of the poet."

(Ibid., II, p. 252)

From the 'Supplementary Confessions':

"All winter the *West-Eastern Divan* had had my devoted and loving and passionate interest, so that by March there was no further need to delay the printing."

(Ibid., II, p. 275)

Letter to Zelter (Karlsbad, May 11, 1820):

"Let me commend the *Divan* to you again. I know what I put into it. Some of that can be distangled and put to your use....Meanwhile, new verses arise. Oriental religion and myth and custom are the right sources for such poetry as befits my years. Unconditional resignation to God's unfathomable will, a serene vision of this stirring earthly life with its way of circular and spiral recurrence, love, benevolence, the alternation between two universes, the purification of the real until it resolves itself into the symbol. What more can Grandpapa want?"

(Ibid., II, p. 294)

Letter to Zelter (End of May, 1815):

"I have been looking over my *Orientalischer Divan*, in order to send you a new poem, but I now see clearly for the first time, how this kind of poetry drives one to recollection; for I did not find anything vocal in it, especially for the *Liedertafel*, for which, after all, it is our main business to provide. For what cannot be sung in company, is in reality no song, just as a monologue is no drama..."

(*Goethe's Letters to Zelter*, with extracts from those of Zelter to Goethe. Selected and annotated by A. D. Coleridge, London: George Bell, 1887, p. 119)

"Before I closed it, I again looked through my *Divan*, and find a second reason, why I cannot send you any poem out of it; this, however, speaks in favour of the collection. For every individual member is so imbued with the spirit of the whole, is so thoroughly

Oriental, referring to Eastern customs, usages, and religion, that it requires to be explained by one of the preceding poems, before it can produce any effect upon the imagination, or the feelings. I did not myself know, in what a strange way I had made the whole thing hang together. The first hundred poems are nearly complete; when I have finished the second, the Collection will look graver...." (Ibid., p. 121)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 29 October 1815):

"Now I must tell you, that my *Divan* is larger by several numbers, some of them of the freshest and most youthful kind. It can now be divided into books, according to the different contents; and there are several vocal things among them, though--in accordance with their Oriental style--reflection prevails in most of them,--as moreover befits the years of the poet."

(Ibid., p. 122)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 11 March 1816):

"My *Divan* has grown in bulk and in strength. The style of poetry, which, without further reflection, I have adopted and made use of, has this peculiarity, that like the Sonnet, it almost resists being sung; it is also notable enough, that the glory of Orientals is writing, not singing. However, it is a kind of poetry that suits my time of life, mode of thought, experience and view of things, while it allows one to be as foolish in love-matters, as one can only be in youth."

(Ibid., pp. 124-125)

Letter to Zelter (Baden, 2 August 1819):

"How naturally all this comes, and what will your honoured friend F. A. Wolf, say, when he comes to read the first lines in Hafis (*Divan*, p. 379)? I jumble up one thing with another, reading now here, now there, and just enjoying myself, to the top of my bent; in the harum-scarum life here, everything comes into my head all at once."

(Ibid., p. 181)

Letter to Zelter (Baden, 12 August 1819):

"...What you say on page 377 of the *Divan*, under the heading, Verwahrung, as to the difference between poetry and the

elocutionary arts, seems to me to apply here: these are tales, and a man who does not choose to believe them, can let them alone."

(Ibid., pp. 183-184)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 4 January 1819):

"Once we had seen this great stream of court-society and life flowing North in your direction, I turned at once to the East and back to my former acquaintances [of the *Divan*]. I am keen to finish it with the additional poems, and I want to reach you by Easter. However, we shall have to be fairly busy and active for three or four months more, will all the interruptions that come..."

(*Letters from Goethe*. Translated by Dr. M. von Herzfeld and C. Molvil Sym. Introduction by Prof. W. H. Bruford. Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1957, p.417)

55. Goethe explains the change in his diary:

"The political heaven seemed, meanwhile, gradually to clear up. The wish to roam about in the open world, especially in my free native district, to which my mind now fondly turned, impelled me to a journey. The blithe air and the nimble motion stimulated several growths in me of the new Eastern genius. A healthful stay at a watering-place, rural residence in a district I had roamed all over in youthful days, meetings with dear friends of cultivated mind--all this quickened and enriched me, raising me to the happy state which every man of feeling will find reflected in the *Divan*."

(Annals, op. cit., under 1815, p. 418)

56. George Henry Lewes, ou. cit., Introduction by Havelock Ellis, p. xi.

57. *The Life of Goethe*. 3 vols, New York 1905-1908 (Reprinted: 1970); originally published in German, 2 vols. Munich. 1896-1903.

58. See A. Müller: *J.J. von Willemer*, 1925; G. Jacobs: *J. J. Willemer*, Diss. Frankfurt/M. 1971.

59. The grandfather of C.G. Jung, a worldly-known psychologist, was rumored to be the illegitimate son of Goethe. Perhaps, this is the reason that he expressed the opinion that he had himself been Goethe in a previous incarnation.

Jung says:

"There is circumstantial evidence that my grandfather was one of Goethe's sons. However, my grandsons don't know about it. I haven't made it a family tradition. My grandfather's mother played an important role in the theatre world of Mannheim."

(*C. G. Jung Speaking. Interviews and Encounters*. Edited by William McGurie and R.F.C. Hull. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978, p. 271)

For the legend of Jung's descent from Goethe, see his

Memories, Dreams, Reflections. London etc., 1961 (paperback), ch. II, n. 1. pp. 51-52, 261 and a footnote by Aniel Jaffe (pp. 51-52).

The family name of Marianne Jung and her deep interest in the theatre from the childhood, intensified by her mother, may have some link with Jung's ancestors.

Jung pronounced Goethe "a prophet", a title that is very close to Iqbal's oft-quoted distich about Goethe:

Who, though without prophetic fame

Has an inspired book to his name

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, Eng. tr. by Hadi Hussain, Lahore. 1977 (1971), p. 170)

60. 1784-1860; family name Maria Anna Katharina Theresia, born in Linz in Upper Austria, daughter of the instrument maker Jung and the Viennese actress M.A.E. Pirngruber; in her childhood took much interest in theatre as well as literature and languages; came with her mother in a troupe of ballet dancers to Frankfurt in 1798 and earned the fame for her performance on the stage and the attractive charms; J.J. Willemer with the consent of her mother took her to his house and provided the facilities for sharpening her talent for theatre and music; after his wife's death he married her (27th September 1814); Goethe met her in Wiesbaden for the first time (4th August 1814) and was completely enraptured by her beauty and artistic accomplishments; during his frequent visits of Frankfurt and Gerbermühle in two years (1814 and 1815), their mutual relationship peaked; after their last meeting in Heidelberg on 29th September 1815, Goethe did not see her again but he never ceased belonging to Marianne inwardly; letters, gifts and

words of graceful recollection were exchanged; three weeks before his death (29th February 1832) Goethe returned to Marianne her letters, requesting her to leave the packet unopened "until the unspecified hour"; she found among the letters another word of gratitude, a last poem "Vor die Augen meiner Leben..." (31st March 1831) of her beloved, dedicated to her.

In 1850s, Herman Grimm was the first scholar who pointed out the contribution of Marianne to the *Divan* under the name of "Zuleika."

For the life of Marianne and her relation with Goethe, see Joseph Francois Angelloz: "Un couple exemplaire. Goethe et Marriane de Willemer" (*Mecure de France*, sér. med., 308 (1950), pp. 652-669); Karl Bahn: *Marianne von Willemer, Goethes Suleika*. Berlin, 1928; Carl Becker: "Das Buch Suleika als Zyklus." (*Varia Variorum*. Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt. Münster/Köln, 1952, pp. 225-252); Bernhard von Brentano: *Dass ich eins und doppelt bin. Marianne von Willemer und Goethe*. 2nd completely rev. ed., Wiesbaden: Limes Verlag, 1961 (Ist ed. entitled *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer. Die Geschichte einer Liebe*. Zürich, 1945); Karl Buchheim: *Suleika--Vom Ewigen in der Liebe*. München, 1948; Franz Dornseiff: "Goethes Aschiedsgedicht an Marianne--Suleika." (*Goethe*, 4 (1939), pp. 306-311); Heinrich Düntzer: "Goethe und Marianne von Willemer." (*Westermann's illustrirte deutsche Monatshefte für das gesammte geistige Leben der Gegenwart*. 28, N.F., Bd. 12, Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639a--663a); Hermann Grimm: *Goethe und Suleika*. Sonderdruck (Mit einem Nachwort von Rudolf Bach). Hamburg, 1947 (originally published in: *Preussischer Jahrbücher* (Berlin) 24 (1869), 1. Ht. Juli, pp. 1-21); Carmen Kahn-Wallerstein: *Marianne von Willemer, Goethes Suleika und ihre Welt*. Bern/München, 1961; Emilie Kellner: *Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika*. Leipzig, 1876; Edgar Lohner: "Hatem und Suleika: Kunst und Kommunikation." (*Interpretationen zum West-östlicher Divan Goethes*. Hrsg. von Edgar Lohner. Darmstadt, 1973, pp. 277-304); Werner Milch: *Bettine und Marianne*. Zürich, 1947; Friedrich Neumann: "Worte Suleika zum Begriff "Persönlichkeit" [zu: "Volk und Knecht und überwinder"] *Muttersprache*, 1957, pp. 113-116); Hans Pyritz: *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer. Eine biographische Studie*. 3rd. ed. Stuttgart, 1948, (Ist ed. Stuttgart, 1941, pp. VI, 132); Ibid.: *Marianne von Willemer*. Mit einem Anhang: Gedichte Marianne von Willemer. Berlin, 1944; Ibid.:

"Goethe und Marianne von Willemer". (ibid.: *Goethe-Studien*, 1962); Wilhelm Scherer: "Eine österreichische Dichterin (*Aufsätze über Goethe*. Berlin 1886, pp. 235-246); Erich Schmidt: "Marianne-Suleika." (E. Schmidt: *Charakteristiken*. I, Berlin 1886, pp. 321-331); Aurelia Grether Scott: *Goethes Zuleika, Marianne von Willemer, and her world*. Columbia Phil. Diss., 1954 (Doctoral Dissertation Series. Publication No.: 10,800. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Order No. 55-333); Reinhold Steig: "Aus Suleikas hohen Tagen." (*Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts*, 1907, pp. 214-229); Paul Stöcklein: "Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Suleika spricht." (*Wege zum Gedicht*. Mit einer Einführung von Edgar Hederer. Hrsg. von Rupert Hirschenauer und Albrecht Weber. I, München/Zürich, 1965, pp. 84-98); Edwin Zellweker: *Marianne Willemer. Lebensbild einer österreichicherin*. Wien: Volksbuchverlag, 1949, pp. 213 with pictures; Hans Frank: *Marianne*. Berlin/Darmstadt: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1956; G.C. van Niftrik: "De geschiedenis van den domineesdochter" (*Ex Auditu Verbe*. Essays in honour of Dr. G.C. Berkouwer, Kampen: Kok, 1965, p. 113, Note 64); H. Sachse: Neues Leben, neue Liebe. 1982; G. Wacha: *Marianne von Willemer*, 1984; P. Meuer: "Einmal in meinem Leben." (in: Ibid.: *Fülle des Augenblicks*, 1985); "Goethe and Suleika" (*Western*, by L.F. Soldan, vol. 1 (1875), pp. 621-626); *Zuleika: The Book of Zuleika from the West-Eastern Divan* (*Das Buch Zuleika*). Translated by A. Grether Scott. New York: Stechert-Hafner, 1951.

The correspondence between Goethe and Marianne furnishes valuable information for understanding the *Divan's* poetry. See, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer (Suleika)*. Hrsg. mit Lebensnachrichten und Erläuterungen von Theodor Creizenach. Stuttgart 1877. 2nd rev. ed., 1878; *Goethes Briefwechsel mit Marianne von Willemer*. Hrsg. von Philipp Stein, Leipzig 1908, 2nd ed. Hrsg. von Max Hecker, 1915; *Marianne und Johann Jakob Willemer. Briefwechsel mit Goethe. Dokumente, Lebens-Chronik, Erläuterungen*. Hrsg. von Hans-J. Weitz. Frankfurt/M., 1965.

61. To Eckermann (dated 11th March 1828).

62. Paul Böckmann: "Die Heidelberger Divan Gedichte", in: *Goethe und Heidelberg*. Unter Mitarb. von...hrsg. von der Direktion des Kurpfülzischen Museums. Heidelberg 1949, pp. 204-239.

Reprinted under the title: "Die Liebessprache der Heidelberger Divan -Gedichte," in : *Formensprache. Studien zur Literaturästhetik und Dichtungsinterpretation*. Hamburg 1966, pp. 167-192; see also *Miscellaneous Travels of J.W. Goethe*. Edited by L. Dora Schmitz. London 1882. "From a Tour on the Rhine, Maine, and Neckar, in 1814 and 1815." Translated by the Editor, pp. 289-424, Heidelberg pp. 395-417.

63. She was born in Heilbronn; came to Heidelberg for higher education and resided there with her elder sister, Sofie Wegenast. She taught German language privately to the foreign students of the University. She was also the tutor of Iqbal, when he stopped in Heidelberg for a short period of two and a half months in order to improve his German. Later on, she was employed in the University clinic and after her retirement, she spent most of her time in Heidelberg till his death in 1964. In early 1960s she handed over all these letters (written between 1907-1933) to Pakistani officials so that those could be preserved in the National Archives. See also Note 107-109.

64. See for German and English handwritten scripts of all these letters, together with their transcripts, *Iqbal Europe Mein* ("Iqbal in Europe", in Urdu). By Dr. Saeed Akhtar Durrani, 2nd rev. ed., Lahore: Ferozsons, 1999 (ist ed., 1985), pp. 375-470, Appendix 6).

65. Wilhelm Bode: *Goethes Liebesleben*, Berlin 1914; Felix Aaron Theilhaber: *Goethe. Sexus und Eros*. Berlin 1929.

66. Graham Shaw: *Printing in Calcutta to 1800*. A description of checklist of printing in late 18th century. Calcutta, London 1981.

67. A. J. Arberry: *Oriental Essays*. Portraits of Seven Scholars. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960, p. 7. "The Founder. William Jones" pp. 48-84; Fück, op. cit., pp. 129-135; Lord Teignmouth: *Memoirs of the Life, Writings,and Correspondence of Sir William Jones*. Philadelphia 1805; John Hennig: *Goethe and the English Speaking World*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1988 (This collection of essays explore what Goethe read, whom he met, with whom he corresponded--the immense effort he made to be fully informed of what was happening in his time); *Eminent Orientalists*. Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., no date.

68. "...er [Jones] übersetzte 1788 das schönste indische Drama, die Sakuntala des Kalidasa, welche bei ihrem Bekanntwerden in

Europa einen tiefen Eindruck machte und in der aus der englischen Übersetzung geflossenen Verdeutschung Georg Forsters Herder und Goethe in einen Überschwang des Entzückens versetzte." (Fück, op. cit., p. 135)

69. A. J. Arberry: *Seven Odes*. London 1957; Goethe: Annals, p. 417, under the year 1815.

70. *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex*. London 1774. (see also Note 74)

71. Full title: *Blumen aus morgenländischen Dichter gemacht*, 1792.

72. In *Noten*, Goethe remarks twice of Jones:

"Die Verdienste dieses Mannes sind so weltbekannt und an mehr als einem Orte umständlich gerühmt, dass mir nichts übrig bleibt, als nur im Allgemeinum anzuerkennen, dass ich aus seinem Bemühungen von jeher möglichsten Vortheil zu ziehen gesucht habe; dass will ich eine Seite bezeichnen, von welcher er mir besonders merkwürdig geworden."

(cf. *Goethe's sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart 1857, p. 315)

"Wir wollen uns nicht zu weit verlieren, sondern im gegenwärtigen Falle nur so viel sagen: wenn der vortreffliche Jones die Orientalischen Dichter mit Lateinern und Griechen vergleicht, so hat er seine Ursachen, das Verhältnis zu England und den dortigen Alteritikern nöthigt ihn dazu. Er selbst, in der strengen classischen Schule gebildet begriff wohl das ausschliessende Vorurtheil, das nichts wollte gelten lassen, als was von Rom und Athen her auf uns vererbt worden. Er kannte schätzte, liebte seinen Orient und wünschte seine Produktionen in Altengland einzuführen, einzuschwärzen, welches nicht anders als unter dem Stempel das Alterthums zu bewirken war."

(Ibid., p. 257, under "Warnung")

73. Goethe : *Noten*, op. cit., 1857, pp. 316-317; Fück, op. cit., p. 131. Goethe was also in Jena at that time and here he met very often with Eichhorn.

74. Full title: *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri VI cum appendice. Auctore* Guil Jones...*recudi curavit* Jo. Gottfr. Eichhorn. Lipsiac 1777.

75. Friedrich Rückert: *Safi eddin von Hilla*. Arabische Dichtung aus dem Nachlass. Hrsg. und eingeleitet von Hartmut Bobzin. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988. Einleitung, p. 10.

76. For Dr. Modi's scholarly vastness and diligence, see his collection of articles entitled *Asiatic Papers*, in four volumes (Bombay 1905, 1917, 1927 and 1929); *Collection of Papers read at the Oriental Conferences held in India*. Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1932; *Papers on Indo-Iranian and other subjects contributed by several scholars in honour of.....J. J. Modi*. Edited by the Dr. Modi Memorial Volume Editorial Board. Bombay: Fort Printing press, 1930.

    An authority on Parsis writes about Dr. Modi:

    "The best known to the world at large was Jivanji J. Modi, who was hereditary priest-in-charge of a Bombay fire temple, a graduate of both Elphinstone Institute and the Sir J. J. Madressa and for forty years full-time secretary of the Parsi Panchayat. He wrote many books and articles on Parsi rituals and customs, history, beliefs and folklore, and received much recognition from foreign learned societies. His major work in English, published in 1922, was The Religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees, written partly to record observances which were then being abandoned in the rush of industrialized life."

    (Mary Boyce: *Zoroastrians. Their Religions, Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge 1979, p. 217)

    For Dr. Modi's articles see, *A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia*. Edited by J. D. Pearson, London: Mansell 1975, index, s.v.

77. In a footnote of his article *Goethe's Parsi-Nameh* he writes:

    "The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfort. During my two days visit of Frankfort, in 1889, I had the pleasurue of visiting his house on 21st September 1889. I have put down in my note-book, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hierschgraben. [correct: Hirschgraben]. There is also his statue in Frankfort. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poecy--Tragedy and Comedy: on another, his Faust, and Mephistopheles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works." (*The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxiv (1914-15), p. 68, f.n. 6).

78. Edward Dowden, (1843-1913), an Irish writer and literary critic (see Boyd's *Appreciations and Depreciations*, 1917, pp. 141-162). His article "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan", in: *Contemporary Review*, vol. 94 (July 1908) pp. 23-42, also in: E. Dowden: *Essays and Elizabethan*. Edited by Elizabeth Dowden. London: Dent, 1910, pp. 89-119.

79. *JBB Royal Asiatic Society*, op. cit., pp. 66-101; also in: Modi: *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, Bombay 1917, pp. 119-148.

At the end, Modi clarifies:

"I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interesting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled 'The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany' (1901). It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here." (p. 95, f.n.1)

Arfthur F. J. Remy wrote a book *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*. New York 1901 (reprinted: New York: Anns Press, 1966); also available in Urdu translation by Dr. Reyazul Hasan. Karachi. 1973.

80. Dr. Modi's summarized article "Hafiz and Goethe", published in: *Proceedings, Second All-India Oriental Conference*. Calcutta 1922, pp. 601-606).

81. *Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam*. Surat: I. P. Mission Press, 1932. It gives a biographical sketch of Shibli Naumani (1857-1914) and his review of Umar Khayyam's poems and philosophy from his Urdu work *Shair-ul-Ajam* (vol. I, pp. 225-261). The copy, sent by the author to Iqbal (29 September, 1933), is still preserved in the Iqbal Museum (Lahore). No. AIM-1977-128

For Dr. Modi's remarks about Goethe, see Foreword, pp. xxxi-xxxviii.

82. The title of this Gujrati translation is Eka Devinu *Vṛittānt* and was printed in 1897.

83. A few names of such personalities can be mentioned and they all were born in 1870s, like Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Iqbal (1877-1938), Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931), Sir Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936), Sh. Abdul Qadir (1874-1950), Mawlana Shaukat Ali (1873-1938), Fazlul Haq (1873-1962), Abdul Bari

Farangimahalli (1878-1926), Raja of Mahmudabad (1877-1931) etc.

Many reputed politicians, scientists, religious thinkers and writers were also born in 1870s, such as K. Adenauuer (1876-1967), W. Churchill (1874-1965), Shri Aurobindo (1872-1950), A. Einstein (1879-1955), J. Stalin (1879-1953), Martin Buber (1878-1965), Thomas Mann (1875-1955), Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), Hugo van Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) etc.

84. See for his life and works, *Searching for Solace. A Biography of Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Interpreter of the Qur'an.* By M. A. Sherif. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 1994.

85. *Centennial History of Islamia College, Lahore. 1892-1992* (in Urdu). vol. i, by Ahmad Saeed. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1992, p. 152 and with index.

A. Yusuf Ali was appointed the Principal of the College twice (27 September 1925--November 1927; 16 April 1935--13 March 1937). See for details, *Faran* (Govt. Islamia College Magazine), 1999, p. 79, article by M. Siddiq; "Our New Principal" (in: *The Crescent*. The Magazine of the Islamia College Lahore. vol. xx, no. 78, Oct.--Nov. 1925, pp. 5-10. The Editorial by M. Sadiq).

86. *Contemporary Review*, 90 (August 1906), pp. 169-181; also in: *Eclectic Magazine*, 147 (October 1906), pp. 298-306; for its extract, see *Searching for Solace*, op. cit., pp. 237-240, Appendix II: "Selected Writings".

87. See for details, *Stimmen der Zeit*, (Feb. 1921, Bd. 101, pp. 416-429); A. Aronson: *Rabindranath Tagore through Western Eyes*. Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1943; G. Herdt: "Rabindranath Tagore in German Literature." (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* (Santiniketan), vol. 27, nos. 3-4 (1961-62), pp. 260-274); Taraknath Sen: "Western Influence on the Poetry of Tagore", in: *Rabindranath Tagore. A Centenary Volume, 1861-1961*. 3rd ed., New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1987 (1961), esp. pp. 274-275. Theodor Heuss (Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-59): "Tagore and Germany", in : Ibid., pp. 321-322. See also Note 131.

88. Letter written to Mawlana Ahsan Marahrawi (28 February 1899). See, *Iqbal Namah*. Edited by Sh. Ataullah, vol. i, Lahore 1944 p. 3; also in: *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, edited by Muzaffar Hussain Barni, vol. i, 1989, Delhi: Urdu Academy, p. 61.

89. Iqbal was appointed as the Assistant Professor in the English Department of the Government College, Lahore (Ist January, 1901) for six months; afterwards his reappointments and extension in the same Department on 16 October 1902, 3 June 1903, 30 December 1903 upto the 31st March 1904, when he transferred to the Philosophy Department. During this time, particularly in 1901, he also taught English literature ín Islamia College for a short time, when Sh. Abdul Qadir took the leave and sailed for England for higher education (cf. Dr. Waheed Quraishi: *Klasiqi Adab ka Taḥqīqī Mutalia*, in Urdu), Lahore 1965, pp. 326, 337-341, 339, f. n. 3; Hanif Shahid: *Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (in Urdu). Lahore.

According to Waheed Quraishi (op. cit., p. 326), Iqbal got the first leave of absence from the Readershiip of the Oriental College, Punjab University, in 1901, for a few months to serve in Islamia College, Lahore, as Professor of English in place of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, the permanent incumbent of the post who proceeded on leave. This fact is supported by a statement of the late Dr. Khalifah Shuja-ud-Din who studied the English text-book Seekers After God with Iqbal in his intermediate in those days (*Qindeel-i-Fikr* (in Urdu), pp. 74,75)

90. *Dictionary of National Biography*. Supplement Volume 4; *Iqbal Review*, Special Issue on Sir Thomas W. Arnold. April 1991, esp. articles "Arnold and Iqbal" by Dr. S. A. Durrani, pp. 13-29; "Arnold as a Student of Islam" by Dr. C.W. Troll, pp. 39-52); Iqbal Europe Mein by S. A. Durrani, op. cit., pp 82-103, *Nawadir-i-Iqbal Europe Mein* (in Urdu) by Saeed Akhtar Durrani, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1995, pp. 127-130, 196-197 (Two letters of Iqbal to Arnold from Munich); Dr. 'Ashiq Hussain Batalvi's article "Sir Thomas Arnold" (Urdu), in: *Iqbal Shinasi awr Adabi Dunya*. Edited by Dr. Anwar Sadeed, Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal 1988, pp. 172-187. "T. W. Arnold: His Life and Works". By Bakhtyar Hasan Siddiqi, in: *Iqbal* (Lahore), xvi/3, January 1968, pp. 59-67.

In a "Private and Confidential" letter, iqbal writes to J. P. Thompson (d. 1935) (17 October 1925): "I shall also write to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Harley, but I feel I have very little claim on his attention--except that he is a great friend of Sir Thomas Arnold who was my 'Guru' both in India and England and who has always taken a keen interest in me."

(Photocopy of the original letter in Iqbal Academy, Lahore; Urdu translation in: *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II, pp. 609-611); For new dimensions of intellectual relationship between Iqbal and T. W. Arnold, see Siddiq Javed's "Iqbal and Arnold" and "Allama Iqbal--Orientalists and Arnold" in his Urdu collections of arrticles *Iqbal par Taḥqīqī Mutalaey*, Lahore 1988, pp. 53-74, 91-111.

91. *Nal-e-Firaq* (in memory of Arnold), in : *Bang* (see, *Kulliyat* (Urdu), pp. 77-78). Originally published in *Makhzan* (vol. 7, no. 2, May 1904, pp. 45-47, with a brief introductory note by Iqbal).

    The German translation of a part of this poem "Trennungsklage" is as follows:

    Wo bist Du, o Mose auf dem Gipfel des Sinai der Wissenschaft?

    Die Woge Deines Geistes war ein belebender Wind für die Wissenschaft?

    Wo ist jetzt das Verlagen nach Durchquerung der Wüste der Wissenschaft?

    Dein Atem weckte auch in meinem Haupt die Leidenschaft für die Wissenschaft?

    (*Steppe im Staubkorn*. Texte aus dem Urdu--Dichtung Muhammad Iqbals. Ausgewählt, übersetzt und erlautert von J. Christoph Bürgel. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz 1982, pp. 15-16)

92. Edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. London: OUP, 1965 (1931), pp. 204-205.

93. Arnold had intimate relations with some German orientalists and he supported Iqbal while he was in Germany for submitting his doctoral dissertation in Munich.

94. *Makhzan*, (monthly, Lahore) under the editorship of Sh. Abdul Qadir, an intimate friend of Iqbal. Its first issue came out in April 1901, but the poem on Ghalib (1797-1869) was published after five months in September 1901. cf. *Ibtidai Kalam-i-Iqbal*. Chronologically arranged (in Urdu). Edited by Dr. Gian Chand. Hyderabad Deccan: Urdu Research Center, 1988, pp. 119-120

95. *Kulliyat* (Urdu), p. 26. In a footnote by Iqbal, it is stated that in Weimar the famous poet of Germany, Goethe, was buried. For English translation, see *Call of the Marching Bell*. Eng. tr. and

comm. of *Bang-i-Dara* by Dr. Mr. A. K. Khalil. St. John's Newfoundland, 1997, p. 71; J. Ch. Bürgel translates this verse in German as follows:

O weh! Du ruhst im verrotteten Delhi;

während dein Mitsänger im lieblichen Weimar schläft.

(*Steppe im Staubkorn*, op. cit., p. 108)

The contrast between 'Desolate Delhi' and the 'Garden of Weimar' is an eloquent expression of the sad neglect from which Ghalib suffered, as compared with the well-deserved recognition accorded to Goethe by his countrymen.

96. For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Dr. Siddiq Javed's Urdu article on the creative source of Iqbal's poem "Ghalib", published in: *Iqbal*, vol. 37, nos. 1-2 (January/April 1990), pp. 39-76, esp. pp. 44-46, 57. According to Dr. Muhammad Sadiq, the poem of Iqbal on the death of Mirza Dagh (1831-1905), a famous Urdu poet, is modelled on Mathew Arnold's *Memorial Verses*, see his article "Borrowings from English", in : *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 21, 1961.

97. cf. Yusuf Husain Khan: *Ghalib awr Iqbal ki Mutaharrik Jamaliyat* (in Urdu). New Delhi: Ghalib Academy, 1979, pp. 19-20 (repr: Lahore 1986); Dr. Sayyid Muhammd Akram Shah's Urdu article in his new book on Iqbal (Lahore, 1998).

98. A line of the poem in memory of Arnold is:

"I shall reach you after breaking the chains of the Punjab." (*Bang*, Eng. tr. by Khalil, op. cit., p. 133)

99. In the introduction (Geleitwort) of the German translation of Iqbal's *Javidnameh*, "Buch der Ewigkeit" (München, 1957), he writes:

"Drei Reichen des Geistes gehört Sir Muhammad Iqbal an, drei Reiche des Geistes sind Quellen seines gewaltigen Werkes: die Welt Indiens, die Welt des Islam und die des abendländishcen Denkens."

100. Atiya Begum (1877-1967), a unique and reliable source of Iqbal's stay in Europe, writes in her book: "Iqbal had hardly taken three months to master the German language..." (*Iqbal*. Bombay:

Academy of Islamic Publication, 1947,p. 9. Reprinted frequently and translated also in Urdu).

About his mastery of German language she states:

"[On 23 July 1907]..., I brought out a letter I had received from Iqbal who was already in Germany. It was written in the German language and when it was read out both the fluency of the writer and the literary merit of the work were admired."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., pp. 19-20)

For other details see my article "Iqbal and Germany", presented at the Seminar "Iqbal and the Modern Era", in Ghent (Belgium), 17-18 Nov. 1997. (forthcoming)

101. "A few days later Iqbal invited me to supper..., to meet some German scholars with whom he was working." (*Iqbal*, by Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 15)

"The next day [10 June 1907] Iqbal came to my place with a few German and Arabic books on philosophy in the company of a German Professor, and read out portions from them starting a discussion in which we all joined...."

(Ibid., p. 17)

"A German woman named Miss Sholey invited me to an Indian dinner on the 27th June [1907]...so I readily accepted, and discovered that Iqbal was staying at this place, and it was at his suggestion that Miss Sholey had invited me." (Ibid., p. 19)

102. *Iqbal*, by Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 19.

103. Atiya Begum informs: "I discovered that Iqbal was also a great admirer of Hafiz. "When I am in mood for Hafiz," he said, "his spirit enters into my soul, and my personality merges into the poet and I myself become Hafiz." (*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 15)

"..., and read out portions from them starting a discussion in which we all joined, referring to Hafiz in between as a comparison. I felt that Iqbal believed more in Hafiz than in any other Persian poet, as there was not an occasion he let go, but referred to the ideas and ideals of Hafiz and compared him with other philosphers." (Ibid, p. 17)

104. Atiya Begum states: "Professor Arnold said, 'Iqbal, I am going to send you there, as you are the right man for this responsible work [to decipher a rare Arabic manuscript]."

Ibid., p. 17)

105. Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 19

106. Ibid., p. 24.

107. When Emma met Iqbal, she was 28. Archival institutions of Heidelberg provide very scanty information about her life. She continued teaching German probably upto the First World War, with certain gaps. Afterwards, she was employed in the clinic of Heidelberg University as a technical assistant (15 June 1920) and retired from this post at the age of 68 (21 November 1947). See for details, my article "Iqbal and Emma Wegenast" (in Urdu) in : *Nawa-i-Waqt* (daily newspaper) Lahore, 9-15 November 1984 (reproduced in: *Iqbaliyat 84*, ed. by Dr. Waheed Ishrat. Lahore, 1985).

108. The Ardent Pilgrim. An introduction to the Life and Work of Mohammed Iqbal. By Iqbal Singh. 2nd ed. Delhi: OUP, 1997 (1951) p. 156. New Chapter: "Matters of No Importance" (pp. 147-172).

109. Emma handed over all these letters (27, but according to some biographers 40) to Dr. Mumtaz Hassan (d. 1974) and Amanullah Hobohm, a German converted Muslim, in the early 1960s, a few years before her death (1964). She intended to preserve them in the National Archives of Pakistan, so that the specialists on Iqbalean studies could use them as their basic source. Unlike Emma's sincere desire, these letters kept in secrecy, till Mr. Hobohm, who luckily had two letters in original and the others in photocopy, disclosed them when he presented a paper "Muhammad Iqbal and Germany. A Correspondence of the Heart" in SOAS (London) on the occasion of the 100th birth anniversary of Iqbal in 1977. Later on, this material was widely publicised by Dr. S. A. Durrani in print media of Pakistan and now all the original letters with their transcripts and translation have been published in the second edition of his book *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit.

As indicated by Iqbal in some of his letters to Atiya Begum, Emma often wrote letters to Iqbal, evidently in German, because

she did not know English, or she was not willing to use this language as the vehicle of her thoughts.

"Two three weeks ago I received a letter from your friend Frl. Wegenast. I like the girl. She is so good and truthful. I have written to her and to the good old Frau Professor" (Letter, dated 9 April 1909 from Lahore cf. *Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 39)

"I received a letter from Miss Wegenast some time ago. When I write to her I shall remind her of the days when you were in Germany--Ah! the days which will never come again." (Letter dated 17 April, 1909, from Lahore. cf. *Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 48)

Unfortunately, all these Emma's letters written to Iqbal have been lost and we are now completely ignorant even about their contents.

110. *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit., p. 421

111. Ibid., pp. 425-426

112. Ibid., p. 434

113. Ibid., p. 439

114. *Heidelberger Tageblatt*, 29-6-1966

Atiya Begum (op. cit., p. 23), an Indian friend of Emma, mentions about her philological and philosophical aptitude in these words:

"...two girls Professor Frau Wegenast and Fraulein Seneschal started a discussion on German, Greek and French Philosophy. These girls knew all the three languages, and I saw what a store-house of knowledge they were."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 23)

"...; and in company of these German Professors, and particularly the Beautiful Frau Seneschal and Frau Wegenast, he seemed to develop a brilliancy he himself was surprised at, for not only were these women professors were beautiful, but so talented that even the learned appeared before them, though Iqbal sparkled in their midst." (Ibid., p. 86)

I have written in detail about the life and service record of Emma in my article "Iqbal and Germany" (forthcoming) but here only a few passages of these letters are given, showing their emotional intimacy with each other.

"Für ein Mann welcher hat Ihre Bekanntschaft, es ist nicht möglich ohne Sie zu leben" (London. 2 December, 1907)

"Ich danke tausendmal für die Photographien die ich heute Abend erhalten. Es ist so gut von Ihnen. Beide zind schön und sie werden immer in meinem Studien-Zimmer auf meinem Tisch stehen. Aber glauben Sie nicht dass sie nur auf dem Papier sind; sie sind auch in meinem Herz, und werden immer da bleiben." (London. 25 January 1908)

"Mein Körper ist hier, mein Gedanken sind in Deutschland. Es ist Frühling, die Sonne lachelt, mein Herz, aber, ist traurig. Senden Sie einige Wörter, und Ihre Brief wird meinen Frühling seien. Ich habe sehr schöne Gedanken für Sie in meinen traurigen Herzen, und schweigsam gingen sie nach Ihnen ein nach ander. Diese sind meine Wünsche für Sie."

(London, 3 June 1908)

"Vergessen Sie nicht dass es gibt eine unsichtbare Verbindung zwischen uns und, obgleich viele Länder und Meere uns von einander trennen. Mit ein magnetischer Gewalt meine Gedanken eilen nach Ihnen, und diese Verbindung festigen, und stark machen. Schreiben Sir mir immer, und erinnern Sie sind dass ein treuer Freund haben obgleich er entfernt ist. Wenn die Herzen bei einander sind, Entfernung macht nicht."

(London, 27 June 1908)

"Ich habe meine Deutsche ganz vergessen, aber ich erinnere mich nur ein Wort--Emma."

(Sialkot. 3 September 1908)

115. "Bitte geben Sie mir einen kleinen Platz in Ihrem Herzen und Erinnerung". (Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast. Lahore, 20 July 1909)

116. In a letter (7 April 1921) to Waheed Ahmad (editor "Naqeeb"), he openly admits that "During Europe's stay a great revolution took place in my ideas. Truly Europe had made me a Muslim."

117. "My object is to run away from this country as soon as possible....I should leave this wretched country for ever, or take refuge in liquor." (Iqbal's letter to Atiya Begum, Lahore 9 April 1909, in her *Iqbal*, op. cit., pp. 35-36)

118. Edited by Dr. Javid Iqbal, Lahore 1961. Revised and enlarged ed. wtih facsimiles , Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1992. Under the title "Stray Thoughts" Iqbal wrote for the *New Era* (Lucknow). Some extracts, published in 1917, are reproduced in *Discourses of Iqbal*. Compiled by S. H. Razzaki, Lahore 1979, pp. 169-174. Two Urdu translations by Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad Siddiqi, Lahore 1973 and by Dr. Abdul Haq. Delhi 1975 are available.

119. "Maxims and Reflections from Goethe" (in: *Frazer's Magazine*, vol. 13. N. S. 1876, pp. 338-348. Same article in: *Eclectic Magazine*, vol. 23 N. S. pp. 745-754, and *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 129, pp. 117-125). *Maximen und Reflexionen*. Nachwort von Walther Killy und Anmerkungen von Irmtraut Schmid. München: C. H. Beck, 1989; *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*. Translated by Bailey Saunders. London: Macmillan, 1893; *Maximen und Reflexionen*. A selection. Ed. and tr. with an intr. and notes by R.H. Stephenson. Glasgow: Scottish Papers in Germanic Studies, 1986 (pp. 161); *Goethe's World-View: Presented in his Reflections and Maxims*. Ed. with an intr. by F. Ungar. Transl. by H. Norden. New York 1963 (pp. 215).

S. Khuda Bakhsh's *Maxims and Reflections* (London: Dentt, 1916) Persian ms., as stated by him in the foreword:

"It was the merest accident two years ago which took me, one fine January morning, to an old bookstall. Among the stock for sale I found a neglected heap, dusty and battered by the shocks of time. I cut the string, and lighted upon an exquisitely written Persian manuscript. It was not very old. In fact it looked quite modern. It was a collection of sayings--prose, poems were perhaps a more appropriate description. It promised to be vey interesting, and that promise it amply fulfilled. It bore no name, and the provokingly brief autobiography which preceded the text threw but scant and insufficient light upon its authorship."

120. English translation entitled "Criticisms, Reflections and Maxims of Goethe", by W.B. Rönnfeldt. London: W. Scott Publishing Co., undated.

See, "Catalogue of the Iqbal Collection of Books," in: *Mementos of Iqbal*, by Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen. Lahore: All-Pakistan Islamic Education Congress, n.d.; *Armaghan-i-Iqbal* (in Urdu). Ed. by Ibid., Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1991, pp. 262-320; Muhammad Siddiq: *Descriptive Catalogue of Allama Iqbal's*

Personal Library. Lahore 1983; Ibid., *Allama Iqbal and his some Friends* (in Urdu). Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal 1988, pp. 49-60.

It is argued that the significance of Goethe's aphorisms and verse maxims does not lie in any conceptual originality on his part, but rather in his aesthetic transmutation of commonplace thought.

(cf. R. H. Stephensen: *Goethe's Wisdom Literature. A Study in a Aesthetic Transmutation*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1983).

121. "Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own."

(*Stray Reflections*, 1992, op. cit., p. 25)

In a letter to Atiya Begum (Lahore. 17 July 1909) he writes:

"Byron, Goethe and Shelley were not respected by their contemporaries--and though I am far inferior to them in poetic power I am proud that I am in their company in this respect."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 49)

122. "I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe....the first two led me into the "inside" of things."

(Ibid., p. 61)

He further remarks about Goethe:

"Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato-poet or philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe." (Ibid., p. 113)

"...But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone."

(Ibid., p. 120)

123. For the detailed discussion on these poems see my article "Iqbal and Germany" (op. cit., forthcoming)

124. *Bang*, p. 138. For its English translation, see *Call of the Marching Bell* (op. cit., p. 203) and also its German rendering by Bürgel in his *Steppe im Staubkorn*, op. cit., p. 75, with this note: "Eine Reminiszenz aus Iqbals Heidelberger Zeit und gleichzeitig ein unverkennbarer Anklang an Goethes "Über allen Wipfeln ist Ruh."

125. At the beginning of 1776, on the slope of the Ettersberg, Goethe wrote this poem:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch,
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde,
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

English translation:

Hush'd on the hill
Is the breeze;
Scarce by the Zephyr
The trees
Softly are press'd;
The woodbird's asleep on the bough.
Wait, then, and there
Soon wilt find rest.

126. See Iqbal's letter to Shatir Madrasi (Sialkot, 29 August 1908), in: *Khatut-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Rafiuddin Hashmi. Lahore 1976, pp. 72-73.

127. *Asrar-i-Khudi*. Lahore 1915; Also in: *Makalat-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Sayyid Abdul Wahid Muini and M. Abdullah Quraishi. 2nd ed., Lahore 1988, p. 194; *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*. By Faqir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, 2nd ed., Karachi 1965 (1964), vol. ii, p. 45. This introduction has been excluded from the other editions.

128. *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Muhammad Abdur Razzaq. Hyderabad Deccan, 1342 A.H., Preface, p. 51.

129. With Hafiz, he also criticised Plato, see J. Ch. Bürgel: "Die griechische Ziege und das Schof von Schiras. Bemerkungen zu Gedanken Muhammad Iqbals über Plato und Hafis" (in: H.R. Roemer und A. Noth (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*. Leiden 1981, pp. 12-27)

130. A. Schimmel: *The Secrets of Creative Love*. The Work of Muhammad Iqbal. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1998, p. 14

131. One year before the War, Tagore was awarded with the Nobel Prize in Literature (1913). He toured Europe and America (1921) and the local Urdu journalism also covered his extrensive travelling (see *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), Oct. 1922, pp. 308-309).

For the influence of Goethe in particular and the German thought in general on the Bengali mind, including Tagore, see Alokeranjan Dasgupta: *Goethe and Tagore: a restrospect of East-West colloquy.* New Delhi: South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, Delhi Branch; Wiesbaden; Steiner [in Komm.], 1973.

Six poetical works of Tagore (all published in London 1923) and a collection of his letters from abroad are still available in Iqbal's personal collection, preserved in the Islamia College Library, Lahore (see *Catalogue*, op. cit.); see also "Tagore and the Noble Prize", in : *Men and Memories. Recollections of William Rothenstein.* vol. II (1900-1922), London 1932, pp. 282-286 (in the Iqbal Museum, Lahore, with the signature of the author, Tagore was also called "Indian Goethe", see *Rabindranath Tagore. A Centenary Volume, 1861-1961.* 3rd ed. 1987 (1961), New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, p. 144.

In Iqbal's life some of his friends expressed their views that as a poet he had an edge over Tagore. see *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*. Ed. M. Abdur Razzaq, op. cit., p. 136; *Nairang-i-Khiyal*, (Lahore), Iqbal Number, 1932, p. 43.

132. J. Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862), see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vols., 1875-1912) s.v. Uhland; *The Prose Writings of Heinrich Heine*. Edited with an Introduction by Havelock Ellis. London, no date, pp. 135-141.

133. Dated 10 Oct. 1919. *Iqbal Namah.* Ed. by Shaikh Ataullah, Lahore 1944, vol. I, pp. 107, 108; *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), pp. 137.

134. To Muhammad Akbar Munir. 4 August, 1920. Ibid; vol. II (Lahore, 1951), p. 159; *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, op. cit; vol. II (1991), p 201.

135. To Ibid., April or May, 1922; II, pp. 164-165; Ibid., II, p. 354.

136. To Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, 14 May, 1922. Ibid., II, p. 131; Ibid., II, p. 356.

137. To Maharajah Kishan Prashad, 19 March, 1923. *Shad-Iqbal*. Edited by Dr. Muhyiuddin Qadiri Zor, Hyderabad Deccan 1942, p. 139; *Iqbal banam Shad*. Ed. Muhammad Abdullah Quraishi, Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1986, p. 274 and Shad's letter to Iqbal (14 May, 1923), pp. 369-370. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, op. cit., II, p. 439.

138. See for details, monthly *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), January 1922, p. 8; *Nairang-i-Khiyal* (Iqbal Number) Lahore, September-October 1932, p. 38, article by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fawq, Reprinted: *Naqoosh* (Iqbal Number), Lahore 1977, p. 25; *The Poet of the East*. By Abdullah Anwar Beg. Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939, pp. 51-52; *Zikr-i-Iqbal*. By Abdul Majeed Salik, Lahore 1955, p. 117; Muhammad Hanif Shahid's article in: *Sahifa* (Iqbal Number), November/December 1977-January/February 1978, pp. 138-151. (Almost all biographers of Iqbal have referred the bestowal of this title of Knighthood to Iqbal).

139. see Ch. Muhammad Husain's comprehensive review in a journal *Risalah Hazaar Dastan* (Lahore), vol. 2, no. 2 (February, 1923), pp. 4-14.

140. *Maktubat-i-Iqbal*. Edited by Nazir Niazi, Karachi 1957, p. 159; A. Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing*, Leiden: Brill, 1963, p. 44.

141. *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*. A Collection of Translations, Essays and other Articles. Presented by the Pakistan-German Forum, Karachi 1960, pp. 10-11 (Translation by Mumtaz Hasan).

142. A. Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing*, op. cit., p. 45.

143. Eng. tr. by A. J. Arberry entitled *The Tulip of Sinai* (London, 1947).

144. A. Schimmel writes: "I personally think that for a Western reader, particularly for a German reader, this book [*Payam*] is more interesting than all his other works, because he shows image of Europe as he had seen it with the eys of a poet." (*Pakistan's Philosopher-Poet Mohammad Iqbal*: An Introduction. Talk on 20 Jan. 1989 in Hague).

145. In the beginning of the ms. of the *Payam* (Iqbal Museum, Acc. No. AIM-1977/213) Iqbal has written: "In reply to Goethe's West-östlicher Diwan", different from the sub-title of the printed edition: "In response to German poet-Goethe.

"My third work is *Payam-i-Mashriq* that was written in the style of Goethe's *Divan.* Some of its parts is a reply to Heine and Goethe". (*Guftar-i-Iqbal.* Ed. M. Rafiq Afzal, Lahore 1969, p. 242).

146. R. A. Nicholson's review on *Payam*, in: *Islamica* (Leipzig) vol. I. (1925), p. 114.

147. In this first edition, the poem entitled "Jalal and Goethe" (pp. 182-183), Jalaluddin Rumi with Goethe in Paradise and after hearing from read Faust, Rumi eulogizes the German poet. In the *Payam* (in: Iqbal Museum, op. cit.) another poem was under the heading "Schopenhauer and Goethe" but in the first edition Iqbal changed this title and replaced by "Schopenhauer and Nietzsche" (p. 170). In the section of "Lyrical Nectar" (Ghazals), Iqbal, after many years, has used again "Gulshan-i-Weimar" in the last verse of a ghazal (p. 144, no. 13):

    O morning breeze, convey
    My greetings to the happy Weimar town,
    The light that radiated from it has
    Illumined many sages' minds
    (Translation by Hadi Hussain, p. 119)

    In a letter to Maulana Girami (28 January, 1915), Iqbal wrote the same verse with an alteration and that is "Mulad-i-Hafiz" (Birthplace of Hafiz) instead of "Gulshan-i-Weimar" (see, *Makatib-i-Iqbal banam Girami.* Ed. by Muhammad Abdullah Quraishi, Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1969, p. 102). See also Iqbal's letter to Maharajah Kishan Prashad (28 Dec. 1914). cf. *Iqbal banam Shad.* Ed. by Muhammad Abdullah Quraishi. Lahore 1986, p. 116.

148. Iqbal added these poems himself in the first printed copy of the *Payam* (1923) and this revised edition is still preserved in the Iqbal Museum (Acc. No. AIM-1977/190). The second edition (1924) is entirely based on it, including these two poems (pp. 147-149, 151-152).

149. This song of Goethe (1774) was intended to be introduced in a projected drama entitled "Mahomet", the plan of which remained incomplete. He mentions that it was to have been sung by Hazrat Ali towards the end of the poem in honour of the Holy Prophet, shortly before his death, and when at the height of his glory, of which it is typical.

For its German text, see *Goethe. Selected Poems*. Edited by Barker Fairley. London: Heinemann 1981 (1954), pp. 9-11; *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy, 1978, pp. viii-xii.

Its English rendering is by Edger Alfred Bowring, in: *The Poems of Goethe*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1904.

Urdu translation of this poem by Saqib Razmi, see in: *Memoriam-III* (Iqbal Day Speeches and Articles). Karachi: Iqbal Academy 1969, pp. 22-24.

For its detailed study, see Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahomets-Gesang" bei Goethes Zeitgenossen und in der modernen persischen Adaption Muhammad Iqbals (1923)", in : *Goethe Jahrbuch*. Im Aufträge des Vorstandes der Goethe-Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Karl-Heinz Hahn. Einhundertster Band der Gesamtfolge, 1983. Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger Weimar, pp. 111-126.

150. From *Divan*'s "Chuld Nameh" (Book of Paradise) under the title "Einlass" (Admittance). See, *West-Eastern Divan*, rendered into English by J. Whaley, London 1974, pp. 208-219 (with German text; repr. with an introduction by K. Mommsen, Bern etc: Peter Lang, 1998); *Goethe's Reineke Fox, West-Eastern Divan, and Achilleid*. Translated in the original metres, by Alexander Rogers. London: George Bell & Sons, 1890, pp. 327-333; Persian tr. in: *Diwan-i-Sharqi*, by Shuja-ud-Din Shafa, Teheran 1328 sh., pp. 118-123. R. A. Nicholson erroneously named it "Mädchen und Dichter" and claimed that it does not belong to the *Divan*. (cf. *Islamica*, 1925, op. cit., p. 114)

151. "Purer East", used in the first poem of the *Divan* ("Hegire"), where "on patriarch's air to feast" and "Khizer's spring shall make thee young." A comparative study of the *Divan* and the Noten shows that Goethe did not mean by "Purer East" any historical or geographical area of the Islamic world but "House of souls" and a "Land of Poets" were in his mind. Compare the sections "Despotie" and "Einrede" of the Noten (1857 ed., pp. 245-249) with the *Divan*. J. Ch. Bürgel has also elaborated this point, see his *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit. Religion und Welt im Islam*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck 1991, Introduction, p. 16 and "Iqbal und Goethe", in: *Iqbal und Europa*. Hrsg. von J. Ch. Bürgel. Bern-Frankfurt/M., 1981, p. 13.

152. R. A. Nicholson in: *Islamica*, 1925, op. cit., p. 114.

153. Syed Abdul Vahid: *Iqbal. His Art and Thought*. London: John Murray 1959, p. 234.

154. Eng. tr. by Mumtaz Hasan, in: *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*, op. cit., p. 10

155. A few names can be mentioned here: Konrad Burdach, Ernst Beutler, H.H. Schaeder, Wolfgang Lentz, Katharina Mommsen, Ingeborg H. Solbrig, J. Ch. Bürgel and Annemarie Schimmel.

156. A German Iranist who presented his doctoral dissertation to Halle University in 1885: *Die Nominalflexion im Avesta und die altpersische Keilinschriften. T.I. Die Stämme auf Spiranten* (pp. 64). He did most of his research on Persian studies while he was teaching in Strasburg. One of his important articles entitled "Geschichte Irans in islamischer Zeit" was published in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, hrsg. von W. Geiger und E. Kuhn, Strasburg. 1896.

157. *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*. Leipzig: C.F. Amelang 1901, in: *Die Literatur des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen*, Bd. VI,I. Halbband.

158. "Was verdanken wir Persien?" in: *Nord und Süd.* Eine deutsche Monatsschrift. Hrsg. von Paul Lindaw. Breslau. XCIV. Band,-Septembre 1900, Heft 282, pp. 377-395, on Goethe, pp. 384-386.

159. Albert Bielschowsky: *Goethe. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. 2 Bde., München 1896-1904. The passage, quoted by Iqbal, is in vol. 2 (pp. 341-342). Frequently reprinted and also translated in English by W.A. Cooper under the title *The Life of Goethe* (3 vols. New York 1905-1908). The above-mentioned passage is in vol. III, (p. 30).

160. Arthur F. J. Remy: *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*. Columbia University, 1901 (Repr.: New York, 1966)

At the end, the author concludes: "We cannot possibly agree with the view that would place Goethe's *Divan* side by side with the master's best productions. We do not believe that he ever would have become famous through that." (p. 80)

161. *A Message from the East*. Tr. by M. Hadi Hussain. Lahore: Iqbal Academy 1977 (1971), pp. 1-2.

Sh. Ijaz Ahmad, the son of Iqbal's elder brother, narrates that perhaps in 1922, his uncle was travelling by rail to Lyallpur (present Faisalabad) or Jhang for a law suit. He was accompanied by Sh. Abdul Qadir and Sir Zafrullah Khan who told the narrator that during the journey, Iqbal recited his verses about Goethe from the *Payam* which was at that time in preparation. Ijaz Ahmad has also given a verse that was not included in the printed text.

Oo z Mahbubi aziz Kishwarey

Man cheh Yusuf-i-Hindi Sudagrey

Chon Sikander har do ra Aaenaey

Her do ra Jam-i Jamay dar Sinaay

Eng. tr. His amiability crowned him with the belovedness of a great country

And me, like Joseph, slave of a merchant
Both, like Alexander, possess the mirror
Both have the Jamshed's cup in their breast.

See, *Mazloom Iqbal*. (Some Reminiscences and Impressions). By Ijaz Ahmad, Karachi 1985, pp. 147-148; *Anjuman* (A collection of personal memories and expressions). By Faqir Syed Wahid-ud-Din, Karachi 1966, pp. 219-221.

162. Dr. Mumtaz Hasan: "Iqbal's Tribute to Goethe" (in: *Iqbal*. Quarterly Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore. vol. xxi, no. 1, Jan.-March 1974, p. 34).

163. Ibid., p. 33.

164. Maulana Jami's saying on Rumi is extended here on Goethe's Faust.

165. From Rumi's *Masnawi* which sums up the lesson of *Faust*.

166. Mumaz Hasan, op. cit., p. 30

167. Goethe explains in his autobiography:

"Several of the songs, to be introduced in the drama, were composed beforehand; all that remains of them, however, is the one among my poems bearing the title "Mahomets Gesang", (Mahomet's Song). According to the plan, this was to be sung by

Ali in honour of his master, at the highest point of his success, just before the changed aspect of affairs resulting from the poison."

(*Poetry and Truth.* From my own life. A revised translation by Minna Steele Smith. Vol. II, London: G. Bell & Sons. 1913, p. 171)

168. Published under the title "Gesang" in Boie's *Musenalmanach of the year 1774 (1773)* (repr.: *Göttinger "Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1774*", Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980)

169. A. Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe", in: *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978, pp. 272-273. For the detailed study of this poem, see Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahomets-Gesang"....., in :*Goethe Jahrbuch*, 100 (Weimar, 1983), pp. 111-126. In a recent study of Iqbal, A. Schimmel writes that "What neither Goethe nor Iqbal could know is that exactly this image [of 'living stream'] had been used already in the 10th century by the Shia theologian Kulayni in order to describe the Prophet with a wonderful symbol." (*The Secrets of Creative Love*: *The Work of Muhammad Iqbal*. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1996, p. 13). In another article she writes: "This idea of the Prophet as the stream has fascinated Iqbal. It occurs in small nuances throughout his work. But the very fact that he calls himself Zinderood, the living stream, shows exactly, like his image of the caravan bell, that he felt his inspiration came out of the Prophetic tradition, that he felt bound to the Prophet of Islam who was his true guide. And it is this aspect of Iqbal which one should always keep in mind." (*Pakistan's Philosopher-Poet Mohammad Iqbal. An Introduction*. Talk given on Jan. 20, 1989 at the Residence of Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands, the Hague.)

For the other shades of Iqbal's symbol of this 'living stream' in his Persian and Urdu poetry see Dr. Syed M. Akram Shah's Urdu article in his recent book *Iqbal-Ek Tehreek* (Lahore 1998), pp. 5-19; According to Dr. Tara Charan Rastogi, William James' conception of Stream of thought/consciousness enters in Iqbal poetry, see "Zinda Rud in Javid Nama--An appraisal in the perspective of Stream of Thought" (in: *Iqbal Review*, Hyderabad Deccan, offprint, undated, pp. 41-50).

Goethe has used twice the name of "Zindarud", a river near Ispahan, in his *Divan's* "Parsi Nameh" (Buch des Parsen):

Wie euch Senderud aus Bergrevieren
Rein entspringt, soll er sich rein verlieren
(Senderud from mountains in the distance
Rises pure, and pure should lose existence)
and:

Will dem Ufer Senderuds entsagen,
Auf zum Darnawand die Flügel schlogen,

(I'll renounce now Senderud's fair fountains,
Soar on wings to Darnawand's sheer mountains)

(cf. Whaley, op. cit., pp. 198, 199, 200-201)

After Goethe, his follower and the poet-scholar, F. Rückert also refers this river:

Und wenn ich meiner Tränen Flut göss' in den Sinderud,

Würd in ganz Irak alle Staat neugrün auf einmal stehn.

(Friedrich Rückert. *Dreiundsechzig Ghaselen des Hafis.* Mit einer Einleitung von J. Ch. Bürgel. Hrsg. von Wolfdietrich Fischer. Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz 1988, p. 55, Ghazal No. 31)

170. For example in: *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), June 1923, (by Syed Sulaiman Nadvi); *Jamia'* (Aligarh) Sept. 1923 (by M. Aslam Jairajpuri); *Aligarh Magazine*, May-July 1923 etc.

171. Perhaps from "Kunst-u. Buchdruckerei. "KAVAINI" (Berlin-Charlottenburg, Weimarer Str. 18), a German publishing house that was internationally known for printing the Persian texts of literary and historical works (especially of Nasir Khusrow). It was already proposed by this publisher to print a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poetry (*Anwar-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by B. A. Dar, Lahore 1977 (1967), p. 195) but nothing came out. After some years, Ghalib's Urdu diwan and a drama (1925, by Dr. S. Abid Hussain) were published from this publishing house.

172. Iqbal's letter to Prof. Reuben Levy (Lahore, 30 Oct. 1923)

"...my book *Payam-i-Mashriq*--written in response to Goethe's *West-Oestlichen Divan* --might be of some interest to you. It was

published only a few months ago and a second Ed.--revised and enlarged will come out in a short time. I therefore take the liberty of sending a copy of it to you and should like very much to know what you think of it." (cf. *Iqbal Europe Mein*. by S. A. Durrani, op. cit., p. 367)

At the same time, Iqbal informed, though modestly, some of his friends about the contents of this new book, such as:

"There is much work to be done, like the editing of the second edition of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* that will probably be published from Germany... Most of the poems of Goethe's *Divan* have been translated into English, possibly in the series of Pan (?) Library. Perhaps, its one volume is available in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore."

(Iqbal's Urdu letter to Nazir Ahmad Shah of Ghazipur, 16 June 1923, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), p. 460).

It seems that Iqbal was not sure about the availability of *Divan's* translation in Lahore. Even his personal collection of books (now housed in Iqbal Museum and Islamia College, Lahore) does not have a single copy of *Divan*, either in original or in translation. So, his remarks about the *Divan* might have based on the previous studies of his stay in Europe.

"In the meantime, I have published a book entitled *Payam-i-Mashriq*..., Now its first edition is extant. Second revised edition will be published within a few days.... This book has been in response to Goethe's *Divan*." (Iqbal's Urdu letter to Akbar Munir, 2 February 1924, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991) op. cit., p. 515.

"You will get a copy of Iqbal's publication *Payam-i-Mashriq* with this book....It is a pity that this book (e.g. *Payam*) has not yet been translated into English. The translation is not easy, but possible."

(Ch. Muhammad Husain's Urdu letter to Iqbal Shaidai, 4 Oct., 1923. Unpublished. In the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Iqbal Shaidai's Collection, No. F-10/Is).

173. "About *Payam-i-Mashriq*, many letters from different places have arrived and are still coming. A professor from Berlin has said that it is a "wonderful" book. Prof. Horovitz [Josef Horovitz, 1874-1931] who was a Professor of Arabic language in Aligarh and

now in Germany, is writing a review on it that will be published in German newspapers."

(Iqbal's Urdu letter to M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, 20 July 1923, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), op. cit., p. 463)

"I am sure that the review [on *Payam*] of Prof. Horovitz of Frankfurt soon will come to India. It will be translated (from German) to English and publsihed here."

(Iqbal's Urdu letter to M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, 28 July 1923, cf. *Makatib-i-Iqbal banam Khan Niaz-ud-Din Khan*, Lahore 1954, p. 47).

174. *Oriental Essays*. Portraits of the Seven Scholars. By A J. Arberry, London 1960, p. 214.

175. In the introduction, Nicholson quoted Iqbal's detailed letter to him that has come to be regarded as among the most important documents ever written by the poet-philosopher.

One year before the publication of the *Payam*, in the first book on Iqbal it is written that,

"The esteem shown by Dr. Nicholson for the young poet recalls to mind the astonishment evinced by Napoleon when he saw Goethe. It reveals (as it does in this case) what had been regarded for centuries as the "German spirit". When Goethe entered the room, Napoleon, impressed by his personality, exclaimed: "Voilà un homme"--that was as much as to say: "But this is a man! and I only expected to see a German."

(Zulfiqar Ali Khan: *A Voice from the East*. Repr.: Lahore: Iqbal Academy 1982 (1922), p. 16)

In one of his comparative remarks, it seems that the author, one of Iqbal's intimate friends, knew Goethe very well as a writer:

"It remained his [Iqbal's] glory that in his poems he held up the mirror to his age, as Goethe had done before him in *Wilhelm Meister*." (Ibid., p. 9)

176. "While Iqbal has been profundly influenced by Western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron and Shelley; he is as familiar with Also sprach Zarathustra and l'évolution créatrice as he is with the Qur'an and the Mathnawi. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he

appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth."

(*The Poet of the East*. By Abdulla Anwar Beg. Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939. Foreword by R. A. Nicholson)

This passage was first published in the review article of the *Payam* in: *Islamica* (vol. I, 1925, p. 112)

177. Unfortunately, Nicholson's letter is lost, but Iqbal described its contents in another letter to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (dated 5 July 1923), see *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), p. 461. The addressee reproduced a few lines from this letter in the journal *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), 1923, p. 12) with his brief comments.

178. *Islamica*, I (1925), pp. 112-124, Repr.: *The Crescent*. Magazine of Islamia College, Lahore, vol. xx, no. 81 (1926), pp. 9-18; *Observer* (in different instalments, 1926); *Iqbal Review*, XIII (Oct. 1972), pp. 6-16; *The Sword and the Sceptre* (A collection of Writings on Iqbal, dealing mainly with his life and poetical works). Collected and edited by Riffat Hassan. Lahore. Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977, pp. 301-320.

On this issue of Islamica, see S. Khuda Bukhsh: *Studies; Indian and Islamic*. London 1927, pp. 54-57 (On Nicholson's review, pp. 56-57); see also Syed Sulaiman's brief article "Islamica and Iqbal" in: *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), vol. 16, no. 6 (Dec. 1925), pp. 407-409.

An Urdu translation of this reveiw was published in the same year (*Nairang-i-Khayal*, Lahore, Eid Number 1925). Afterwards two translations came out, one by Abdullah Chaghatai (*Nairang-i-Khiyal*, Iqbal Number, 1932, pp. 314-327; Reproduced in: *Naqoosh*, Lahore, Iqbal Number, 1977, pp. 224-235; A. Chaghatai: *Iqbal ki Suhbat Mein*, Lahore 1977, pp. 142-161 and in many other collections of articles on Iqbal) and the other by Habibullah Rushdi (*Majallah Usmania*, Hyderabad Deccan, vol. 32, nos. 3 & 4, 1938. Reproduced in: Dr. Tahseen Firaqi (ed.): *Naqd-i-Iqbal...*, Lahore 1992, pp. 319-338; *Iqbal Review*, Hyderabad Deccan, April 1994, pp. 3-8).

After some years, Iqbal informs Dr. Abbas Ali Khan in a letter (6 July 1923) about this review. (*Iqbal Namah*, vol. I, op. cit., p. 277).

179. In this regard, the name of Prof. Annemarie Schimmel, the living German authority on Iqbal, can be mentioned. In one of her articles, she writes

"Still, in spite of the hardships of life in wartime Berlin I continued my 'passage to more than India' as a student, and discovered one day in our Seminar in Berlin University that copy of the Journal *Islamica* (1925), in which R. A. Nicholson had published his article on Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Being a lover of German poetry in general and Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* in particular; being also a disciple of the great German orientalist Hans Heinrich Schaeder whose book on Hafiz and Goethe (*Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*, 1938) is still a classic, I read Nicholson's article with enthusiasm, copied it, and was inspired by the Persian verses which I found there." ("Iqbal as I see him", in: *Jashn Nama-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Dr. Ebadat Brelvi. Lahore: University Oriental College, 1977, p. 153)

Hanns Meinke (d. 1974) was inspired by the English translation of the selective verses of the *Payam* by Nicholson and rendered them freely in his own language which he sent to Iqbal in an artistically decorated book (handwritten script is still preserved in the Iqbal Museum). See for details, my article "Iqbal and Germany" (forthcoming).

About H. Meinke, Schimmel informs:

"...., an elderly German poet, Hanns Meinke, who was one of the strange romantic dreamers of olden times enamoured by the mystical flights of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and likewise by Iqbal, whose works he knew, again, through Nicholson's article."

(In: *Jashn Nama-i-Iqbal*. op. cit., p. 154)

180. Like Josef Hell (1875-1950) who was a professor of classical Arabic in Erlangen University. One of Prof. Hell's book was translated in Urdu by Syed Nazir Niazi (Delhi, preface dated 15 July 1927) with an appendix (pp. 163-194) from the English translation by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh (a copy of Niazi's translation is still available in the private collection of Iqbal, see Catalogue, op. cit.). Some Urdu writers knew about this German translation of the *Payam*, see Krishan Chandra's article in *Adabi Dunya* (Lahore. August 1938, p. 105).

Prof. Schimmel writes about this German translation of the *Payam*:

"The translation was never published. I once had an opportunity of examining it but found it too unpoetical for a publication. Still, the very fact that Professor Hell undertook this venture--probably in the 1930s, and in any case long before any other translation outside the English language appeared--proves that there was indeed some interest in Iqbal's work in German academic circles."

("Germany and Iqbal", in: *Muhammad Iqbal, und die drei Reiche des Geistes*. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Koehler, Hamburg 1977, p. 49)

After some years, Prof. Schimmel translated the *Payam* in verse entitled *Botschaft des Ostens* (Wiesbaden 1963) and also included in her selection of Iqbal's works under the same title: (Tübingen/Basel: Erdmann Verlag 1977, pp. 121-198).

In an article by Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, it is mentioned that a person, Deutsche Russo (?), translated the *Payam*'s introduction in German (see, *Nairang-i-Khiyal*, 1932, p. 42).

181. In *Nairang-i-Khiyal* (Iqbal Number, 1932) some of the writers have expressed their comparative views about Iqbal and Goethe and tried to trace out the common aspects between their poetic thought (pp. 145, 380-381). A contemporary critic, Ali Abbas Husaini, paid our attention to an important aspect of the prevailing discussion that being a 'reply' to Goethe, we must know about the 'question' of this great German poet and now it has become inevitable for Iqbal to translate in Urdu verse his Faust. (see, *Zamanah* (Cawnpur), March 1927, p. 139)

182. Syed Nazir Niazi, one of the close associates of Iqbal, writes:

"And it was Iqbal who turned our attention to Goethe. It is a remarkable episode in our history that Iqbal alone should have resisted the force of a whole literature and cutlure which was dominating our life through political control. Whatever the reasons--and they need not be discussed here--it is a fact that we accepted Goethe rather than Shakespeare. Shakespeare is no doubt admired but Goethe is the favourite. Shakespeare is a unique artist whom we all recognise, but Goethe is one of us who has secured a place in hearts."

("Conversations with Iqbal", in: *Muhammad Iqbal, Poet and Philosopher*. Karachi 1960, pp. 68-69)

182. *Seminar. Iqbal: East and West* (held on Nov. 4, 1979), Hyderabad Deccan. "Concluding Remarks." By A. Schimmel, p. 21.

184. "An instance in point is the legend of Faust, to which the touch of Goethe's genius has given a wholly new meaning."

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh. 2nd. ed., Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1989 (1986), p. 65).

185. A. Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe" in: *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978, p. 282; A Bausani, the translator of *Javidnameh* in Italian, writes about this 'Prologue': "Evidente allusione faustiana. Iqbal era grande ammiratore di Goethe, di varie opere del quale esistone traduzioni in Urdu." (*Il poema celeste*. Bari: Leonardo da Vinci ed., 1965, p. 39, f.n.)

In the manuscript copy of *Javidnameh*, Iqbal has also written "Prologue in Heaven" with the title "Tamheed" (in: Iqbal Museum, No. AIM-1977-202). In a letter to Syed Nazir Niazi, (14 August, 1930), Iqbal asked whether Dr. Abid Hussain has translated "Prologue in Heaven" of Faust or not. (cf. *Maktubat-i-Niazi*. Karachi 1957, p. 30)

186. Mujtaba Minawi, an Iranian scholar, emphasized that both Goethe and Iqbal preferred Love to Intellect: a similarity that deserves special attention (see his *Allama Iqbal*. Urdu tr. by Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Lahore 1955, p. 35)

187. Numerous studies on this subject have been made both in Urdu and English and here only a few, including some new ones, are referred, such as: A. Schimmel: "Die Gestalt des Satans in Muhammad Iqbal's Werk" (*Kairos*, 1962, pp. 124-137); Ibid.: "Iblis in Iqbal's Poetry" (*Iqbal Centenary Papers*. Compiled by Prof. Mohammad Munawwar. vol. I, Lahore: University of the Punjab 1982, pp. 119-122); P. J. Awn: *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption. Iblis in Sufi Psychology*. Leiden: Brill. 1983; Khalil Shaikh: *Der Teufel in der modernen arabischen Literatur. Die Rezeption eines europäischen Motivs in der arabischen Belletristik, Dramatik und Poesie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1986 (for *Faust*, Abschmitt 4 : "Der Pakt

mit dem Satan", pp. 160-210); J-rgen Holz: *Im Halbschatten Mephistos Literarische Teufelgestatten von 1750 bis 1850*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1989; See also Note 203.

188. *Javidnamah* (ms.) in Iqbal Museum, Lahore (Acc. No. AIM-1977-202). List of notable persons, drawn by Iqbal himself. Goethe's name is under 24.

189. See Bürgel: *Steppe*, op. cit., p. 20. Goethe has also adopted the same style in "Buch des Unmuts" of *Divan*. See also Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und die arabische Welt*. Frankfurt/M.: Insel 1988 (chapter on the influence of the pre-Islamic poetry on *Divan*, Noten and Zahme Xenien, pp. 51-156).

190. *Mazloom Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 325; Also in: *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*, II (Karachi 1965; Lahore 1987), p. 183; *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), pp. 372-373.

191. Narrated by Ghulam Rasul Mehr (d. 1971) in his newspaper *Inqilab* (11 Jan. 1929), see *Guftar-i-Iqbal*. Edited by M. Rafiq Afzal, Lahore 1969, pp. 215-216.

192. Ch. Muhammad Husain (1894-1950) has referred this 'wish' of Iqbal in his review article on *Zabur-i-Ajam* (1927); see *Iqbal-Ch. Muhammad Husain ki Nazar Mein*. Edited by M. Hanif Shahid. Lahore 1975, pp. 147, 161.

English translation of *Zabur* entitled "Persian Psalms" by A. J. Arberry, Lahore 1961 (1948); Selective German translation by A. Schimmel in: *Persischer Psalter* (Köln: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1968), pp. 88-94, and in : *Botschaft des Ostens* (Tübingen/Basel: Erdmann, 1977), pp. 90-96. The German translator elaborates the main subjects of this book in these words:

"In diesem Werk finden sich einige seiner feinsten und schwungvollsten persischen Gedichte; das Hauptmotiv ist auch hier das Verhältnis von Mensch und Gott. Die unlösbare Verbundenheit zwischen Schöpfer und Geschöpf, das Wechselspiel zwischen dem liebenden Ich und dem geliebten, ersehnten Du, oder, anders ausgedrückt, zwischen dem menschlichen Ego und dem göttlichen Super-Ego ist in manchem dieser Geschichte in unvergesslicher Zartheit widergespiegelt. Gott ist ebenso sehnsüchtig wie der Mensch, war er doch, wie die islamische Mystik immer wieder betont, 'ein verborgener Schatz', der die Welt schuf, um geliebt und verehrt zu werden. Die Natur

scheint Iqbal durch das Schauen des Menschen entstanden zu sein; ohne seinen Blick hätte sie keinen Sinn. Der Mensch aber ruht unlösbar in dem allumfassenden Grössten Ich, in jenem Gott, der den Falken wie die Jagdbeute schafft und der den Menschen verwandeln kann, wenn er sich ihm im Gebet anvertraut; dann wird der Mensch das Instrument des göttlichen Willens." (*Botschaft*, p. 90)

193. *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit., p. 462

194. Ibid., p. 89

Some learned contemporaries of Iqbal were fully aware of these words, uttered by Goethe when he was breathing his last, and they used them in their own perspective; for example Muhammad Ali writes in one of his articles:

"We [mild Hindu] wanted, like Goethe on his deathbed, "more light."

(*The Comrade*. The Weekly Journal. Edited by Muhammad Ali. vol. 3, no. 8, February 24, 1912, p. 176)

Rabindranath Tagore has also used these words in a letter (September 22, 1894):

"Goethe on his death-bed wanted "more light." If I have any desire left at all as such a time, it will be for "more space" as well; for I dearly love both light and space."

(*Glimpses of Bengal*. Selected Letters, 1885-1895. New Delhi 1980 (1921), pp. 144-145, paperback).

195. Ijaz Ahmad has given a list of all these books (see *Mazloom Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 160).

196. Like. R. A. Wilmot: *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, 1857.

197. Muhammad Siddiq: *Descriptive Catalogue of Allama Iqbal's Personal Library*. Lahore 1983. Introduction.

198. The translator has used the German text *Maximen und Reflexionen*. Edited under the title *Sprüche in Prosa* by Gustav von Loeper, Goethes Werke, Berlin 1869-79, vol. xix. cf. Bailey Saunders: *Goethe's Maxims and Reflections*. For other details about this book and its impact on Iqbal's *Stray Reflections*, see Note 119-120.

199. This book forms the central focus on the basic concepts of the theory of knowledge of Goethe's *Weltanschauung* with reference to Schiller, together with an addition of Goethe's "Scientific Works'. The author, R. Steiner, has also written five more books on Goethe (published after 1921) that have been listed at the end of the present book.

200. Iqbal's introduction to *Payam* begins with this Heine's quotation: "The charm of this book (*Divan*) is indescribable; it is a salaam sent by the Occident to the Orient, and many a quaint and curious flower is gathered there..." (present edition, pp. 118-119).

Unfortunately, the complete Iqbal Collection, including these seven titles, has been badly-documented in the *Descriptive Catalogue*...(op. cit., 1983). It must be revised, added with the description of the contents of the books and their authors and for this undertaking the pattern of the such catalogues can be followed;

a) Hans Ruppert; *Goethes Bibliothek. Katalog*. Weimar; Arion, 1958.

b) Otto Lerche: *Goethe und die Weimarer Bibliothek*. Leipzig: Harrossowitz, 1929.

It will be worthwhile to note here that some of Iqbal's letters indicate that he often lent the books from the local libraries (esp. Punjab University Library and Punjab Public Library) for his studies. At the time of preparing his *Lectures* (Ist. ed. 1930) he tried hard to search for the relevant material and got it temporarily from the private and governmental libraries. If possible, a list of such borrowed books can be prepared, modelled on the following book:

Elise von Keudell and Werner Deetjen (eds.): *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek. Ein Verzeichnis der von ihm entliehenen Werke*. Weimar Böhlau, 1931.

201. In a letter of 29 June 1923 (just one month after the first edition of *Payam*), Iqbal writes to Shah Nazir Ahmad Hashmi Ghazipuri:

"The second edition of *Payam* is in process and perhaps it will be printed in Germany....Most of the poems of Goethe's Western *Divan* have been translated in English, perhaps in the Pan(?) Library Series. Probably, its one volume is available in the Punjab Public Library."

(cf. Bashir Ahmad Dar: *Anwar-i-Iqbal*. Lahore; Iqbal Academy 1977 (1967), p. 195).

Obviously, in such writings Iqbal has frequently used the word 'perhaps' which means that he furnishes the required information to his addressee only based on his memory and in some instances it lacks the authenticity. With reference to this letter, he is not fully confident about the publisher or the availability of the English translation of the *Divan*. Upto that time, three English renderings of Goethe's *Divan* had been printed (by J. Weiss, Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877; by A. Rogers, London: George Bell, 1890 and by E. Dowden, London 1913) and it is not clear that out of these three translations, which one he has referred.

202. M. M. Sharif: *About Iqbal and His Thought*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture 1977 (1967), p. 195

203. See, B. A. Dar: "The Idea of Satan in Iqbal and Milton." (*Iqbal*, vol, I, no. 1 (July 1952), pp. 83-108; Taj Muhammad Khayal: "Iqbal's Conception of Satan" (Ibid., vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1953), pp. 1-17); Dr. Javid Iqbal: *Ma'i Lalafaam* (Urdu articles), Lahore 1973: "Iqbal awr Shaitan' (pp. 159-187); Prof. Aal-i-Ahmad Suroor: *Nai awr Purane Chiragh* (Urdu articles), 3rd ed., Karachi 1957 (Delhi 1946): "Iqbal awr Iblis" (pp. 41-75); Dr. Hamdi Kashmiri" *Harf-i-Raz*, New Delhi 1983: "Iblis--Iqbal awr Goethe ki nazar mein' (pp. 75-83).

204. S. Vahiduddin; "Tradition and Modernity in Iqbal's Philosophical Thought." (*Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad Deccan), vol. lxi, no. 3 (July 1987), p. 23).

205. It "is clear to Goethe's ideal man who constantly strives to reach higher summits than he is Nietzsche's Superman." (Message of Prof. A. Schimmel on the Ceremony held on 26th March 1999 at Lahore to mark the Birth Anniversary of Goethe, in : *Goethe and Iqbal*. A Tribute to J. W. Goethe on his 250th Birth Anniversary, Lahore 1999).

206. Aziz Ahmad writes: "The expression used by Nietzsche for his conception of the Supreme is Uebermensch, an expression which he has borrowed from Goethe. It is usually a hangover from Goethe's earlier romanticism, before his conversion to the Neo-classicism which manifests itself in the second part of Faust where the heroine is Helen, the essence of Hellenism, and no

longer Gretchen." ("Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man", in: Iqbal, vol. vii, no. l (July 1958), p. 2).

According to M. D. Taseer: "Both [Iqbal and Goethe] worship the Uebermensch (Superman). Iqbal got him from Nietzsche and Nietzsche got him from Goethe." ("Some Thoughts on First Iqbal Day", in : *The Civil and Military Gazette*. (Lahore). Iqbal Day Supplement, 21 April 1961, p. viii.

Dr. Taseer continues to compare them: "Iqbal's scheme of life is more human and workable. As a poet, he is more akin to Goethe than to the dry-as-dust philosophers and abstract thinkers. It is Goethe who said in Faust :

Be self-possessed.

That is the only Art of Life, and Goethe also believed in winning immortality through personal endeavour. Iqbal's "Greatest" work in Poetry, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, is appropriately dedicated to Goethe."

207. Syed Abdul Vahid Mu'ini : *Naqsh-i-Iqbal*, Lahore 1969, p. 239.

208. Prof. Dr. Otto Spies, an outstanding German Orientalist, observes:

"Schon in der Wetzlarer und Frankfurter Zeit (1772 bis 1775) hat Goethe den Koran gelesen, der ihm in der 1772 in Frankfurt erschienenen deutschen Übersetzung von Megerlin vorgelegen haben muss. Den die Sätze in seinem Brief an Herder: 'Ich möchte beten wie Moses im Koran: Herr, mache mir Raum in meiner engen Brust! sind wörtlich dieser Übersetzung entnommen."

(*Der Orient in der deutschen Literatur*. II, Kevelaer 1951, p. 18)

S. Khuda Bakhsh (d. 1931), a well-known translator of books written by German Orientalists, writes:

"The kernel and doctrine of Islam, Goethe has found in the Second Surah which begins as follows: "This is the Book. There is no doubt in the same. A guidance to the righteous, who believe in the Unseen, who observe the prayer, and who give alms of that which has been sent down unto thee--(the revelation) which had been sent down to those before thee, and who believe in the life to come. They walk in the guidance of their Lord, and they are the blessed. As to those who believe not--it is indifferent to them whether you exhortest them or exhortest them not. They will not

believe. Sealed hath Allah their hearts and their ears, and over their eyes is darkness, and theirs will be a great punishment." 'And in this wise', Goethe continues, 'we have Surah after Surah. Belief and unbelief are divided into higher and lower. Heaven and hell await the believers or deniers. Detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religions, form the body of this sacred volume which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever new and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us to veneration.'

(Quoted in : "Iqbal's Tribute to Goethe" by Dr. Mumtaz Hasan, in : *Iqbal*, xxi/1 (Jan.-March 1974, p. 20) See also Nos. 17-21.

209. Katharina Mommsen, a reputed German scholar of Goethe's contact with Islamic Orient, writes in detail on this subject, see her article:

"Goethes bild vom Orient", in: *Der Orient in der Forschung.* Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5 April 1966. Hrsg. von Wilhelm Hoenerbach. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967, p. 455.

See also Nos. 23-28.

210. In *Divan*, Goethe says:

Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst
In Islam leben und sterben wir all.

In a letter (19 November, 1831), Goethe writes to Schopenhauer:

"Im Islam leben wir alle, unter welcher Form wir uns auch Muth machen."

For other details see Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und der Islam.* Stuttgart 1964; Said Abdel-Rahim: *Goethe und der Islam.* Diss. Berlin 1969; G.-H. Bousquet: "Goethe et l'Islam", in : *Studia Islamica* (Paris), 33 (1971) pp. 151-164.

211. Prof. Annemarie Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe", in : *Iqbal; Essays and Studies*. Edited by Asloob Ahmad Ansari, New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978, p. 272.

212. Syed Nazir Niazi: "Conversations with Iqbal." (in: *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*. Karachi: The Pakistan-German Forum, 1960, pp. 112-120); also in: *Muhammad Iqbal und die drei Reiche des Geistes*, op. cit., pp. 67-76.

213. See his letter to Siraj Nizami (15 June 1927). cf. *Khatut-i-Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 176 and *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II, pp. 675-676.

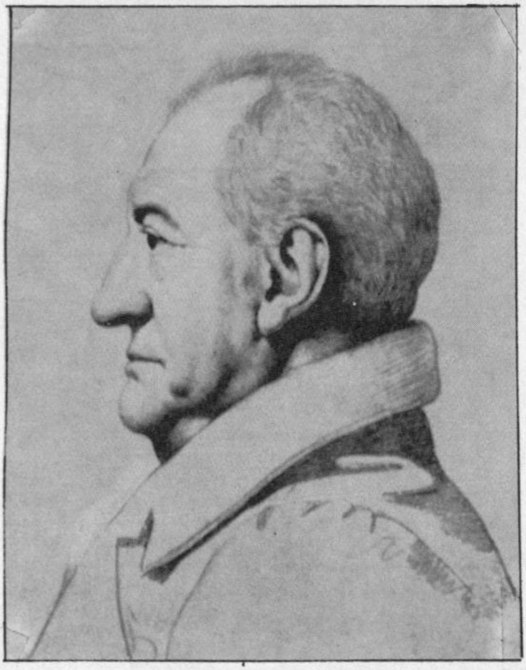
214. *Maktubat-i-Niazi*, op. cit., 1977 (1957), p. 34.

215. Published in 1931, with an extensive preface by Dr. Abid Husain (1896-1978). Only first part of Faust was translated.

216. By Dr. Riyazul Hasan in 1933. Reprinted: Karachi 1967. The translator met Iqbal twice (1930 and 1935) and discussed Goethe and his novel that Iqbal did not like to be read by his son, Dr. Javid Iqbal, who was eleven years of age at that time. (Preface to the translation, 1967, p. 39).

★★★★★★★

ILLUSTRATIONS



Goethe at the age of 68



Der

Diwan

von

Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis.

Aus dem Persischen

zum

erstenmal ganz übersetzt

von

Joseph v. Hammer,

K. K. Rath und Hof-Dollmetsch, Mitglied der Akademie von Göttingen, Korrespondent des Instituts von Holland.

Erster Theil.

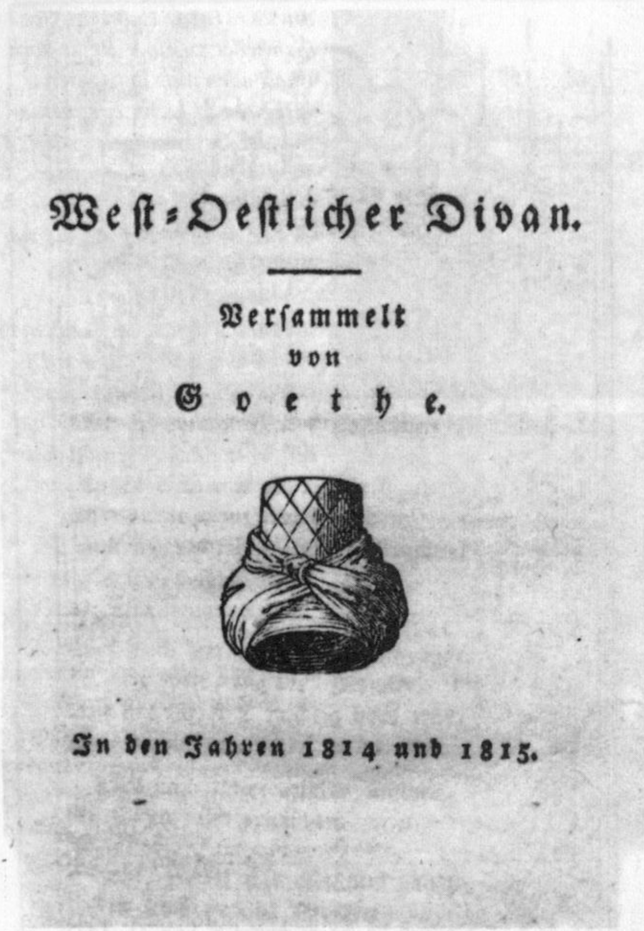
Kes tschu Hafis nekesched es ruchĭ endische nikab
Ta seri sülf arusanĭ suchan schane sedend.

Keiner hat noch Gedanken,
Wie Hafis, entschleiert,
Seit die Locken der Wortbraut
Sind gekräuselt worden.

CIX. Buchst. Dal.

Stuttgart und Tübingen,
in der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung.
1812.

German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1st vol., 1812)

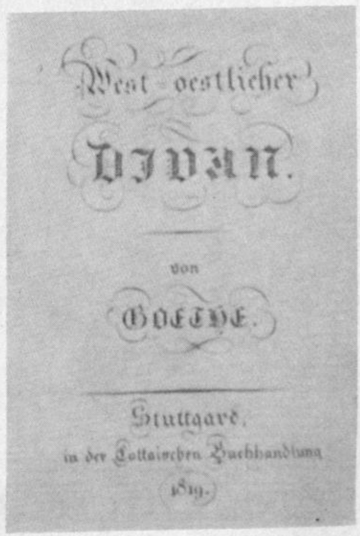


West-Oestlicher Divan.

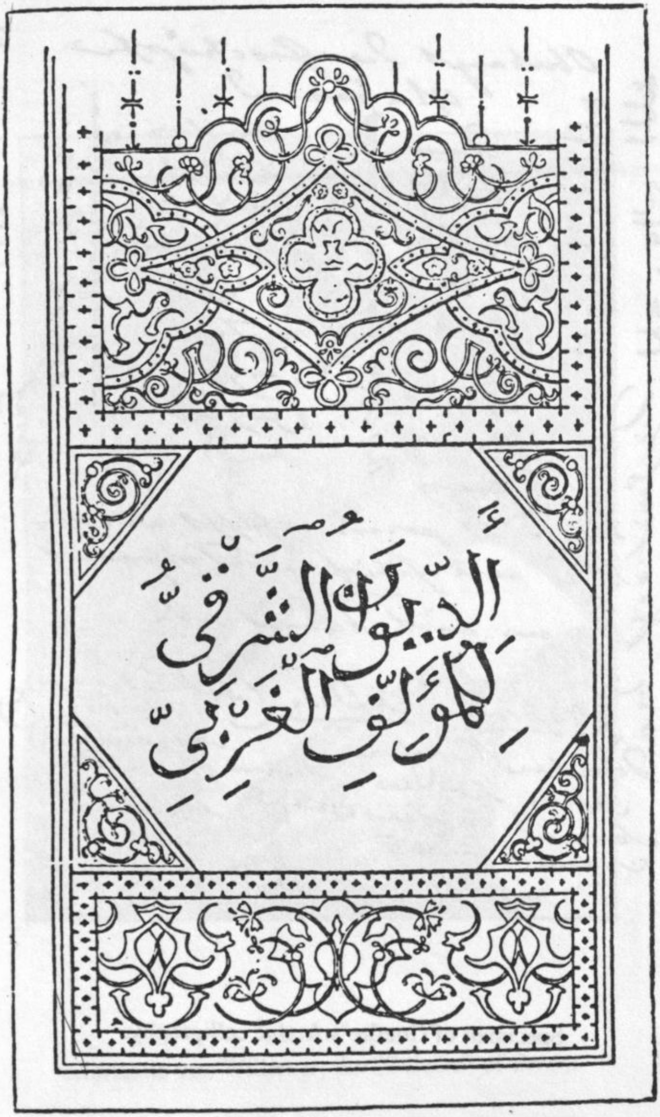
Versammelt
von
Goethe.

In den Jahren 1814 und 1815.

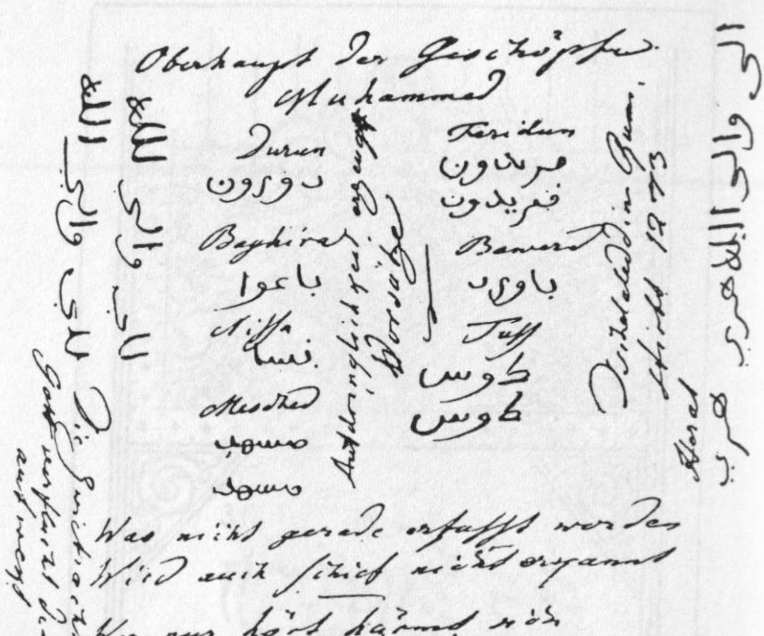
Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan* (1814-15).
(in: *Tachenbuch fuer Damen auf das Jahr 1817*. Cotta.
Turban by L. Hess).



First edition of Goethe's *Divan*
(Stuttgart, 1819)



First page of Goethe's *Divan* (1819) in Arabic script, written by himself.



Specimen of Goethe's Arabic calligraphy.



Marianne von Willemer, the "Suleika" of *Divan*.



'Willemer Turm', situated in the Muehlberg
near Frankfurt. (Postcard 1930).

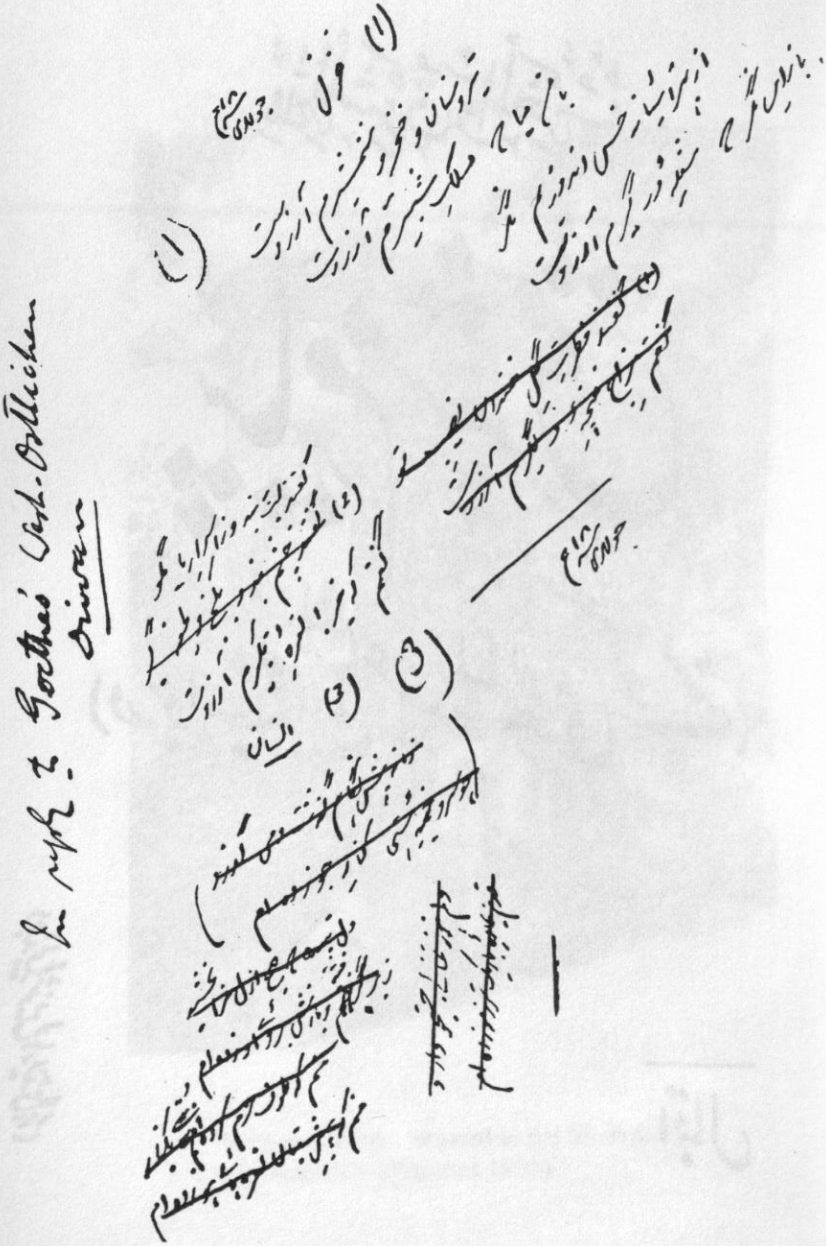
لِلّٰہِ الْمَشْرِقُ وَالْمَغْرِبُ

پیامِ مشرق

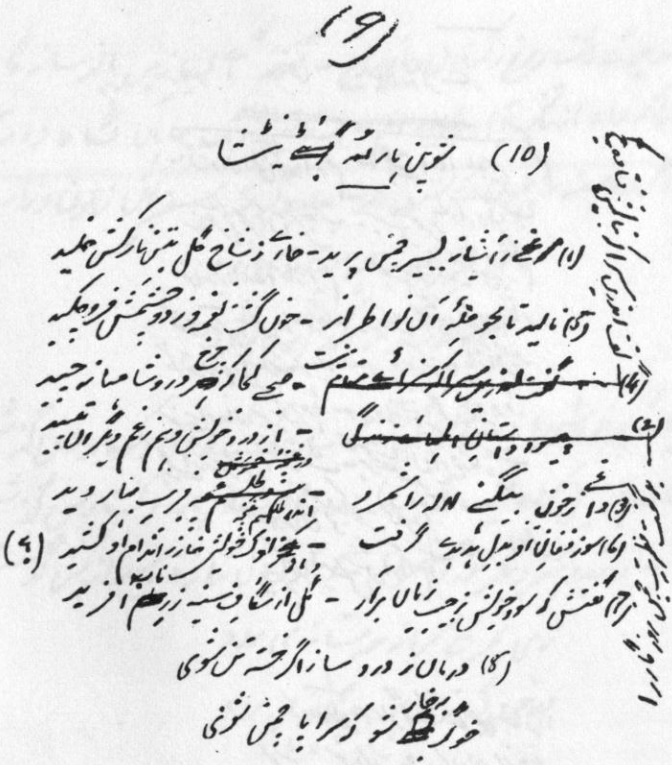
(در جوابِ دیوانِ شاعرِ المانوی گوئٹے)

اقبال

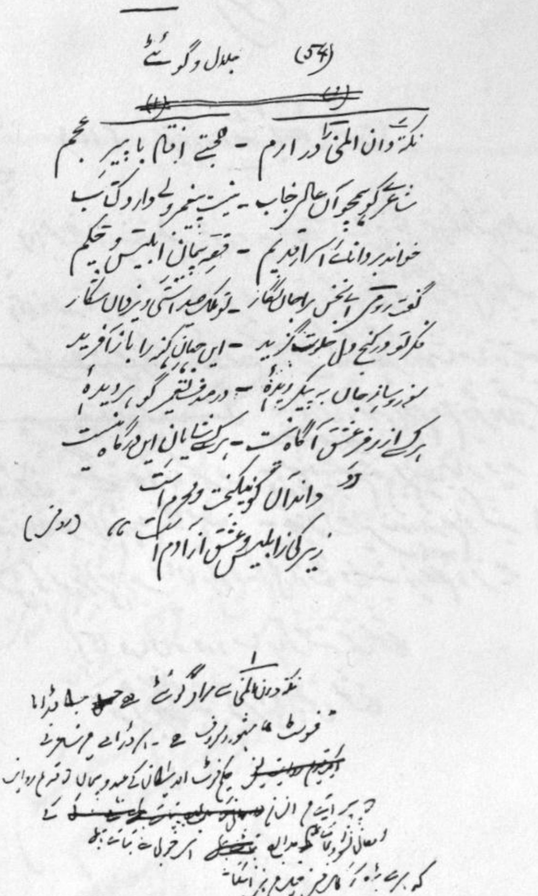
First edition of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923)



Manuscript of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (in: Iqbal Museum, Lahore). On the flyleaf: "In reply to Goethe's *West-Ostlichen Diwan*" in Iqbal's own handwriting.



A poem "Schopenhauer and Goethe" (in hand-written script of *Payam-i-Mashriq*) but it has been changed by Iqbal as "Schopenhaner and Nietzsche".



(54) جلال و گوئٹے

نکته دانِ المنی را در ارم — صحبتی افتاد با پیر عجم
شاعری کو همچو آن عالی جناب — نیست پیغمبر ولی دارد کتاب
خواند بر دانای اسرار قدیم — قصهٔ پیمان ابلیس و حکیم
گفت رومی ای سخن را جان نگار — تو ملک صید استی و یزدان شکار
فکر تو در کنج دل خلوت گزید — این جهان کهنه را باز آفرید
سوز و ساز جان به پیکر دیده‌ای — در صدف تعمیر گوهر دیده‌ای
هر کسی از رمز عشق آگاه نیست — هر کسی شایان این درگاه نیست
داند آن کو نیکبخت و محرم است
زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است

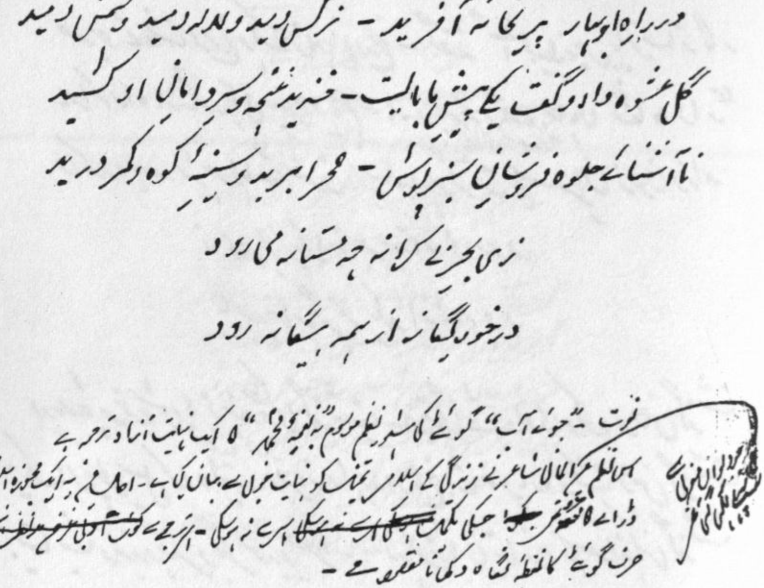
"Jalal and Goethe" (*Payam-i-Mashriq,* ms.)

صد جوئے دشت و مرغ و گلستان و باغ و راغ — گفتند "اے بسیط زمیں با تو سازگار
ما را که راه از تنک آبی نبرده ایم — از دستبرد ریگ بیاباں نگاه دار"
وا کرده سینه را بهواهائے شرق و غرب — در بر گرفته همسفراں زبون و زار
زی بحر بیکرانه چه مستانه می رود
با صد هزار گوهر یکدانه می رود

دریائے پر خروش ز بند و شکن گذشت — از تنگنائے وادی و کوه و دمن گذشت
یکساں چو سیل کرده نشیب و فراز را — از کاخ شاه و باره و کشت و چمن گذشت
بیتاب و تند و تیز و جگر سوز و بیقرار — در هر زماں بتازه رسید از کهن گذشت
زی بحر بیکرانه چه مستانه می رود
در خود یگانه از همه بیگانه می رود

جوئے آب

بنگر که جوئے آب چه مستانه می رود — مانند کهکشاں بگریبان مرغزار
در خواب ناز بود بگهوارهٔ سحاب — وا کرد چشم شوق بآغوش کوهسار
از سنگریزه نغمه گشاید خرام او — سیمائے او چو آئنه بے رنگ و بے غبار
زی بحر بیکرانه چه مستانه می رود
در خود یگانه از همه بیگانه می رود



"Ju-i-Ab" (Rivulet), a poetic adaptation of Iqbal from Goethe's *Mahomets Gesang*. (*Payam-i-Mashriq*, ms.)

حور و شاعر

(در جواب نظم گوئٹے موسوم به "حور و شاعر")

حور

نه به باده میل داری نه به من نظر گشائی
عجب اینکه تو ندانی ره و رسم آشنائی
همه ساز جستجوئی همه سوز آرزوئی
نفسی که می‌گدازی غزلی که می‌سرائی
بنوای آفریدی چه جهان دلگشائی
که ارم بچشم آید چو طلسم سیمیائی!

شاعر

دل رهروان فریبی به کلام نیشداری
مگر اینکه لذت او نرسد به نوک خاری
چه کنم که فطرت من به مقام در نسازد
دل ناصبور دارم چو صبا به لاله زاری
چو نظر قرار گیرد به نگار خوبروئی
تپد آن زمان دل من پی خوبتر نگاری
ز شرر ستاره جویم ز ستاره آفتابی
سر منزلی ندارم که بمیرم از قراری
چو ز باده بهاری قدحی کشیده خیزم
غزلی دگر سرایم بهوای نوبهاری
طلبم نهایت آن که نهایتی ندارد
بنگاه ناشکیبی بدل امیدواری
دل عاشقان بمیرد به بهشت جاودانی
نه نوای دردمندی نه غمی نه غمگساری!

"Hur-o-Shair" in reply to Goethe's
"Huri und Dichter" (*Payam-i-Mashriq*, ms.)

1. Prince Said Halim Pasha
2. Mustafa Kamal Pasha
3. Reza Shah
4. Amanullah Khan (Abdul Rahman)
5. Jamaluddin Afghani
6. Anwar Pasha
7. Nadir Shah (Shia & Sunni)
8. Ahmad Shah Abdali
9. Mirza Muhammad Ali Bab (Qadian)
10. Mehdi of Sudan
11. Lord Kitchener
12. Mussolini.
13. ~~Gandhi~~ ~~Gandhi~~ Gandhi
14. Karl Marx & Lenin
15. Syed Ahmad Khan
16. Tippu
17. Yakub Beg } China & Russia
18. Shamil }
19. President Wilson } America & England
20. Lloyd George }
21. Abdul Karim of Riff.
22. England — Message to League of Nations
23. Kashmir
24. (Germany — Goethe, Hafiz.. Dante
25. Ghazali & Rumi & the Moderns (Luther)
26. طاہرہ, Noor Jehan &c

1. Tippu (Napoleon)
2. Jamaluddin Afghani
3. Nadir Shah.
4. Aurangzeb
5. Shah Waliullah
6. Mujaddid Sirhindi
7. Karim Khan (Zand).
8. Abdul Rahman Afghanistan.

27. Message to the League of Nations

Synopsis of *Javidnameh* (ms. *Iqbal Museum*).
drawn by Iqbal himself. Goethe is under 24.

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN